A Preliminary Apologia

My training in philosophy was inaugurated during my undergraduate education at a Jesuit university, John Carroll University in Ohio. Unlike other pedestrian American universities, John Carroll required that every student take an 8 semester historical survey of the great philosophical works, from the Pre-Socratics to Wittgenstein. This meant that every student had at least one philosophy course during every semester of their education. I happened to be in an experimental college of the university, that required selected students to work with a tutor from the hard sciences if the student was in the humanities and from the humanities if the student was in the hard sciences so that I had also to consider all of my courses from a new viewpoint in a weekly essay that I shared in a symposium with my tutor and fellow students. Besides this regime, I took four other graduate level courses in philosophy over my four years: Medieval Arab Philosophy, Kant, Husserl, and Wittgenstein. Although I graduated with a mixed degree in Classics and Medieval History and went on to work in Islamic and Iranian Studies and Historical Linguistics, this early experience has been the most formative of my life.

My training taught me that Philosophy was the spinal cord of all disciplines whether of the humanities, arts or the hard sciences, and that Philosophy had conceived them all in her capacious womb and still hovered protectively guiding them in their maturity. This conception of philosophy is hard to find in modern university philosophy departments, yet it is the outlook that invests this work.

I would like to thank Academician Sen Arevshatian, director of the Matenadaran, for acting as academic counselor for this dissertation. He has clearly realized as have few who have not studied Medieval Philosophy and especially the philosophy of David the Invincible, that beneath Philosophy's Protective Wings are gathered all of the other sciences as respected tools for her inquiries. This is an especially important insight for a study of a Renaissance scholar/priest and of his polylingual book and its influences, for Ambrogio Teseo of Pavia would think it very peculiar indeed to cordon off philosophical inquiry into narrow fields and to deny philosophy the tools of linguistics, philology, grammar, art history, theology or even ideational organization (the semiotics of book

design). It should not surprise us that Plato, Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Wittgenstein would have been equally perturbed by such narrow notions.

It is, therefore, my great pleasure to congratulate the Armenian Philosophical Academy for its lonely adherence to an ancient vision. I had tried to write this particular book many times but I was always told that it defied the strict boundaries of particular disciplines: something that I fully realized, but that I thought its most salient advantage. There are philological sections, yet they are hermeneutically crucial to an undestanding of the philosophical underpinnings of Ambrogio's selection of manuscripts and texts from those manuscripts for his vast survey of the Psalms in over 20 languages. There are more purely linguistic sections, yet they are invaluable for a better understanding of the Renaissance conception of language as a play of phonological errancy and scribal accuracy. There are historical sections that introduce us to Ambrogio's colleagues that include one of the first non-Hispanic Jesuits, Guillaume Postel, who would also be one of the first persons cast out of that order. Yet, again we will be focussing on their mutual interests in Kabbalistic interpretations of the commonest Biblical texts from within the novel alphabets of Oriental Christianity. Not necessarily finally, but last to be noted, are the appendices on the manuscripts he possessed and the alphabets he chose to cast into immortal metal and ink. These semiotic arrangements tell us much about a man, who is but rarely straight-forward about himself. Moreover, the study of philosophers through the books in their libraries has become a popular pursuit of intellectual historians.

It is to the eternal credit of the Philosophical Academy that I have been able to put all of these strands together into one work and to display, thereby, the deep theological and ethical message of the Ambrogio's book, for no other work of the Renaissance, by spreading its nets so broadly, inherently assumed the equality and value of all mankind under the benevolence of Christ. This ethical message can only be perceived in the context of all of the questions raised by these complex and puzzling components. My endeavor is to lay out the epistemologies underlying the seeming disparate parts of these various Renaissance scholars' life work.

Acknowledgements and Concerns

My search for information on the topic above has led me to many interesting nooks and crannies of the scholastic world. I encountered Teseo Ambrogio originally because of a friend, Dr. Paul Gehl, who is the curator of incunables at the Newberry in Chicago. He asked me during a visit if I would like to see their collection of early Armenian books: three 17th century religious manuscripts (described by the late Prof. Sanjian) and Ambrogio.

Most of my work was subsequently done at the Vatican Library and I would like to thank Father Boyle, its former chief, for his kindest help in circumventing the normal and understandable procedures, which would have allowed me little time for research if I had been forced to adhere to them.

My indebtedness to all those at the library of the University of Pavia is mentioned below. They were very kind in getting microfilms of Ambrogio's manuscripts to me in Armenia, and that was done without prior payment and with some trust in the honesty of scholars. In Italy I was more than generously aided by Prof. Mauro Zonta, Prof. Ricardo Contini, Prof. Alessandro Orengo, Prof. Giusto Traina, and Prof. Levon Zekiyan.

In Armenia, Prof. Garnik Asatrian has always been a good friend and a person to bring the thorniest problem with every hope of help in solving it. I would like to express my special gratitude to Academician Gevork Jahukian, whose pioneering work on Renaissance Armenian grammars has given so much to my understanding of the problems involved, and who, as director of the Linguistics Institute, has acted as a 'kavor' for the realization of my project. There has been another 'kavor' as well; Academician Gevork Brutian has most charitably advised me through many a bureaucratic thicket, while at the same time making me aware of the profound philosophical implications (implicit, explicit, contextual and subtextual) in any work of translation: especially a work such as Ambrogio's that opened Europe's eyes to the treasures possessed by their Oriental Christian brethern.

Finally, all of the workers at the Matenadaran deserve my special thanks, for much of my work was accomplished there and so many scholars working at that institution were

ready to answer a question or discuss a problem. I would especially like to thank Dr. Gohar Mouradian, the late and lamented Professor Papazian, the late and lamented Deputy Director, Babken Choogaszian and the Director, Sen Arevshetian.

No acknowledgement is complete without the acknowledgement of those, whose love and care, kept the writer writing through the hardest times of cold and dark in the Armenian winters of the 90's: my wife, Isabella Sarkissova-Strohmeyer and my daughter Anna Lisa. Isabella more than ably translated the Armenian summaries to my books (which are probably more stylish than the English originals) and was the one who encouraged and properly upbraided me when things seemed bleakest; as for Anna Lisa, I can only ask her forgiveness that I had to keep the fascinating keyboard of my computer away from her small hands for such long periods.

Foreword

This study of Ambrogio Teseo's *Introductio...* (1539) is desirous of being deemed philosophical, yet it is also very clearly historical, linguistic and philological. The methods for understanding Ambrogio's intentions and worldview must, nonetheless, be primarily philosophical and the answers these methods produce will be the important output of this study.

Ever since the break-up of the unifying philosophical-theological ground of the late Middle Ages, we have seen a syncretistic multiplicity of efforts aimed at explaining the same word although it is given very different definitions in the various fields of inquiry: in psychology the 'mind' differs from the similarly named thing viewed through a philosophical or theological or physiological lens. In the recent developments of cognitive science, philosophers, linguists, anthroplogists, psychologists and computer Artificial Intelligence experts are collaborating on the production of synthetic redefinitions of their terminology so that it is sensitive to one another's habitual usage (Holland, 1987; Pinker, 1999, 1997 & 1994). This means that semantic change is negotiated in every field in light of all the others, a difficult feat, which will take many years of work and quarrelling.

The beginnings of this modernist syncretic parallel cognitive dissonance can be squarely placed in the Renaissance, and chiefly attributed to the cleric-scholars of the period just prior to the wrenching, but segregating influence of the Reformation. In the books of the Latinate Academy of the day (the late 15th to early 16th centuries), the concepts soul or mind were consistently and simultaneously parallel-processed through a number of interpretive and analytic systems or engines: astrology, numerology, Kabbalism, grammar, logic, revelation, mythology, magic, etc. The superiority of revelation was a noble assumption, yet it did not necessarily prevail, as a number of Reformist critics subsequently expatiated and the Inquisition made Bruno and other less well-known figures pay for on the pyre with their lives.

A syncretic view is very messy and is very tolerant: if revelation does not seem to accord, and the stars do insist upon the interpretation, then logic is a very powerful

annealing agent put to work on the revealed text: something that both Christian and Muslim scholars attempted to persuade Christian and Muslim authorities to allow with varying degrees of success at differing times. In our own time, most of these parallel processors have been uncoupled and exist in different arenas of our lives without discernible influence between compartments so that a believing Christian can be also a logical and no nonsense physicist while playing the lotto according to the vagaries of his horoscope. There need be little or no attempt at integration today, but in Ambrogio's world, integration was the main watch-word.

The philosophical viewpoint taken by this study is that of 16th century Latinity. It asks the following questions: Why did Ambrogio want to learn the Oriental tongues, especially Armenian? Why did he want to teach them in a certain constrained package to his contemporaries and correspondents across Europe? What were his relations and intentions with and for his colleagues and students? What sort of common truth did he understand to be in the texts that he used as his teaching and learning vehicles? Why did he select these? What is the ultimate purpose of the book? Thus, I am asking the text questions based upon the knowledge of Ambrogio's times, life and collected manuscripts and then trying to piece together the philosophical (theological, hermeneuical, semiotic, psychological, ethical and epistemological) stances that explain the puzzle of the book itself.

For, the book is a puzzle and is so rare and so much a mixed breed (half printed, half manuscript) that the philological excavations of its sources and of Ambrogio's learning methods are vitally important to the questions raised above. Another related question is the importance of the book for Armenology--the study of things Armenian in the widest compass (Brutian, 1999). The author was the first professional Armenologist in Europe that we have considerable information about although individual Western missionaries to the Armenian Catholic communities over the previous centuries certainly possessed a deeper and sounder idea of Armenia and Armenians. Armenian colored his life: he adopted the Armenian alphabet as an apotropaic kabbalistic instrument, writing his personal signet in Latin using the Armenian alphabet, encircled by the names of the Hebrew Alphabet again written in Armenian. Although he taught Syriac at the University

of Bologna and was the Papal inspector of Oriental Christian orthodoxy, his book paints a very tolerant and wide-ranging mind that would almost always prefer to include rather than exclude (he was also, therefore, happy to disseminate the questionable or the simply false if that allowed easier integration than would the 'truth' although he was not at all conscious of making that choice).

The book's epistemology lies as much in its graphic layout and choice of parallel passages from Biblical translations in a wide range of languages as it does within the Latin grammatical and exegetical commentary itself; we shall see that often much is said through simple juxtaposition that is not at all said in the accompanying text. Above all the text assumes the identity and skills of the reader: he (hardly she) is a person clerically trained who is conversant with Greek and Hebrew beyond the obvious Latin; this also means that he has a living memorial depository of particular liturgical, biblical and philosophical texts. Given these requisite skills, the book can help the reader to transfer those same skills to a number of novel but parallel linguistic realms: Armenian, Dalmatian, Macedonian (Old Church Slavic), Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Coptic, and Aramaic.

All of this leads us to some preliminary answers to the above questions that I would like the reader to keep in mind as they work though the Ambrogian materials presented.

Renaissance scholars had recently built some coherence into Latin, Greek and Hebrew textual worldviews (Wakefield, 1524); besides the mutual influence of grammatical and philosophical systems, esoteric and gnostic systems were being applied across traditions. The exploration of largely unkown Christian textual treasures was then one motivated by a search for similar coherent diversities that would further justify those already discovered. Armenians and Armenian, in Ambrogio's view, had a special character related to their importance in Genesis as the one people dwelling among the regions from which the deluvial survivors (Noah's family) spread out once more to repopulate and relinguify the World.

The texts he collected and the selected passages he used from these in his book are intimately related to the interests of his contemporaries and potential readers. This was an Academy overwhelmed by diversities that they were trying to unify using parallel

but often contradictory methods. The future reactions against casting the intellectual net widely were not yet strongly evident. These scholars were not expecting or searching for the new; they were searching for further confirmations of the unifying influence of the Divine Mind working through all of Humanity's intellectual agencies. Thus, the manuscripts were the same old, same old, but they were those written in 'novel alphabets' and languages. For Kabbalistic purposes, frequently the alphabets were more important than the languages or texts; therefore, most of the alphabetic tables included in the last part of the book have no texts at all and only the vaguest connections to real languages.

His colleagues were fellow priests and clerically trained seculars, who shared a common education more or less including a common memorial store although varying in the actual reading an individual scholar indulged in. Thus, the written snippets of texts included in the book always brought to mind the entirety resident in memory. Grammar was universalized through the common meanings universally known, while the actual commentaries found in the text had only to include the novel methods (phonologies, morphologies and syntactic patterns) used by a particular language to reach the common semantic goal. He needed to emphasize the exceptions although sometimes these exceptions seemed to question the received interpretation. Ambrogio and his colleagues were, nevertheless, ever fascinated by the convergent and very ready to find 'scholastic' ways to defuse the divergent.

Hence, the purpose for writing the book is the widening of a common worldview into formerly unknown territory and that is done further to butress and defend the cogency of the worldview itself. Those users of the book contemporary with Ambrogio would be intent upon examining the evidence for that wider common universe, while those who sought it out in a later period (after the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation) might see it as a useful repository of Armenian texts already tested for orthodoxy so as to form a sound basis for their alterior ends, the conversion of the Ottoman Armenians to whatever faith they held superior.

As a greater interest grew in difference for difference's sake, the historical and particular rather than the universal and general, the Ambrogian enterprise would be viewed with less sympathy and would finally be condemned outright. Instead of

common texts and common authors, Armenology would become obsessed with the uniquely Armenian creations: Khorenatsi, Narekatsi, Koriun, etc. Yet, the justice of those criticisms must be viewed from both the critic's and Ambrogio's perspectives.

This dissertation's introduction includes an expanded exploration of the Academic folklore or perennial philosophy of the Renaissance within an examination of the general characteristics of Ambrogio's book.

The first chapter recounts Ambrogio's life, his language learning methods and the background to the production of his magnum opus. I also emphasize the manuscripts in Armenian that he possessed and give some sense of their origins and contents.

The second chapter delineates the philosophical ideas that permeate the book itself, in its format, typographic art, commentary and hand-written insertions. The relations between texts from different languages are given an interpretive framework, the Ambrogian nature of linguistic knowledge is set forth, and the multiple interpretive matrices of the alphabets used are given their semiotic and kabbalistic bases.

The subsequent use of Ambrogio's materials is the subject of the third chapter. Not only contemporaries, but also the Propaganda Fide found Ambrogio's book both interesting and useful in the construction of catechetical works and in the training of future missionaries. I use the content of Galanus's grammatical and logical textbook to show the continued influence of the Ambrogian paradigm, but I also try to explain why the work of the Armenian printers in Amsterdam through Schroeder and the Mechitarian order's educational institutions themselves change the European perspective on the Armenians at the end of the 17th and the beginnings of the 18th centuries.

All of this needs some careful substantiation from within Ambrogio's book itself and from the contemporary works that quote him. Chapter four is dedicated to just that process. We explore the use of the text of the Hayr Mer in the printed works of the 16th century and show that most exempla have a direct link to Ambrogio's book and to his selection of biblical manuscripts in turn. A new view of things is represented by Rivola's standard Armenian-Latin Grammar and Dictionary but we once more see the use of Ambrogio's texts along with the first citation from an Armenian printed book, the Psalter of Abgar Thokhathetsi (1566).

Chapter five completes the work by giving a exhaustive list of Armenian citations found within Ambrogio's text and a link, when possible, to his manuscripts. There is also a concerted attempt to connect the Armenian used to the general motifs and the other languages contained therein as well.

Please read the following chapters and sections with these ideas and purposes in mind. You will find most of them repeated and enlarged upon in the various chapters, but it is crucial that the reader have a topographic map of the whole before launching into its component parts.

I. The Work's General Characteristics

The Importance of the Theme for Academic Studies

The Renaissance's imagining of the Armenians and Armenia was inextricably bound up with their ancient position among Christian peoples and their even more ancient residence among the Mountains of Ararat, the landing site of Noah's ark and the center of the post Deluvian regeneration of all mankind: unquestioned realities to the minds of most Renaissance scientific academics.

Thus, the who and what of Armenia involved fundamental considerations of Biblical Hermeneutics (touching directly upon the new Christian interest in Kabbalistic interpretations) and of the philosophical contextualization of Armenian translations and traditions of the Greeks, of the Church Fathers, and of Scripture.

Ambrogio Teseo, in his ground breaking book of 1539, included on almost 200 pages, of its 430, the Armenian language and its setting in a larger Christian context. Only Syriac was given greater attention, yet the entire book was a comparative study of all of the Oriental Christian minorities and their languages, as known in Europe at that time. Clearly, Armenian had a very eminent place in Ambrogio's opinion, and his opinions would influence subsequent developments.

This dissertation will put before the reader all of the Armenian material quoted by Ambrogio Teseo and Guillaume Postel and many of the related Armenian texts cited by Francisco Rivola and Clemens Galanus.

The manuscript sources used by these writers will be explored and it will be further shown that Ambrogio Teseo had the greatest influence on the Armenian world view of the later writers, Postel and Rivola.

By providing detailed descriptions of Ambrogio's manuscript sources and by amply displaying the accuracy of Ambrogio's use of them, this dissertation will attempt to prove the inherent historical and linguistic value of Ambrogio's too often disparaged book.

The Present State of Research; The Originality of the Material and its Scholarly Underpinnings

The most recent extensive works about Ambrogio Teseo are the various reprintings of Terenzio's biography of Ambrogio Teseo, 1860. He based his work on the biographical references within Ambrogio's one book and in the various encyclopedias of religious orders common in 17th and 18th century Italy (see my annotated bibliography). Terenzio wrote at a particularly medial period, when the linguisitic facts about Indo European and Semitic languages were still unknown: he, for example, considered Armenian a Semitic language.

At the end of the 19th century, the Mechitarians included short articles about Ambrogio, Postel, Rivola and Galanus in their histories of Armenian printing. However, these merely gave brief examples of Armenian material from these works.

In our own century, the foremost Biblical scholar of the late 19th century, Nestle, in 1904, wrote a descriptive essay on Ambrogio's book that emphasized its Syriac content: he was decidedly a Semiticist. Unfortunately, many of his comments are inaccurate and he seemed to be using a copy that did not have all of the hand written additions.

Following his work, there have been numerous descriptions of the book in catalogues of incunables for sale (especially the fine work of Smitskamp) and mentions of Ambrogio in academic articles and bibliographic essays about Oriental Incunables (the journal *Bibliografia*, Fumagelli's, Levi Della Vida's, Nercessian's, Kévorkian's, Voskanian's catalogues, etc.). These are largely descriptive rather than analytic pieces. The only contemporary research upon Ambrogio is within the field of Postel studies due to Ambrogio's publication of his correspondence with Postel within his one book (Bouwsma, Secret, Kuntz, and Launay).

At present, the longest articles about Ambrogio are found in the encyclopedic Italian literary histories.

As was said above, the very prolific Postel has generated much wider interest from the academic community, but not for his study of Armenian or for his linguistic concerns. Secret emphasized his kabbalistic studies and his translation of the *Zohar*; Bouwsma, Launay and Kuntz focused on his importance for a mystical interpretation of Christianity on the eve of the Reformation. My revelation of another aspect of this author is, I believe, quite original.

Rivola's importance as the first writer of an Armenian-Latin Dictionary and Armenian Grammar in Latin has always been recognized, yet his dependence upon the earlier work of Ambrogio has been largely ignored. The grammar has been described and analyzed by Jahukyan, and Rivola's position as the inaugurator of the Latinate Armenian movement has been explored by Hambartsoumian and Nichanian. Again, this work's detailed exploration of his connections to earlier works has no other competitor.

Galanus is more widely studied because of his direct contact with Armenian communities in Constantinople and because of his massive literary output in Armenian. Frazee and Oudenrijn recount his work for the Propaganda Fide. Nichanian has discussed his importance in the creation of a 'civil' tongue that could be used between Armenian confessional groups and by the new business interests of a growing middle class. Mirzoyan has explored the logical foundations of Galanus' philosophical-theological textbooks.

I know of no other papers that connect the Latin grammar of Galanus to the Armenian grammatical traditions founded within the early translations of Thrax into Armenian. This, I believe, is also original work.

The Present Researcher's Goals

My goals in the dissertation are very modest. I have collected the various strands of a16th century scholar's studies in Armenian and I have explored their subsequent use until the definitive condemnation of this entire enterprise in Schroeder's *Thesaurus*... of 1711, which created a conscious break with past tendencies.

The fact that Mechitar of Sebast was independently coming to similar conclusions displayed the growing importance of Enlightenment categories upon the thought of all of the participants in Armenian studies at this time and would insure that European and Armenian scholars would share a common language and interpretive framework throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, which was a situation unique to the Armenians in comparison to the other Oriental Christian Communities, Arab, Georgian, Coptic and Syriac. In the later cases, the Western interpretive framework largely disregraded the opinions or the work of native scholars.

Yet, it has been too often forgotten how crucial Armenian participation was for the older frame of interpretation common to the Renaissance. Armenians had been active participants in the creation of the world view that had been displaced. This dissertation is an attempt to reevaluate this older synergisitic creation of Westerners and Armenian scholars as well. I will show that the Armenian texts selected and the peculiar interests of the period are intimately related.

Methodology and Resources

There is no particularly novel methodology used in this dissertation. I have benefitted from the methods proved through their repeated use in similar scholarly investigations.

Every Armenian reference or citation found in the foundational study of Ambrogio has been given its sources and a philosophical, historical and linguistic commentary. All of his manuscript sources have been identified and their contents described with appropriate annotations. The reuse and manipulation of these materials in later works has been explored and documented.

The resources for this labor were found within the manuscript collection of the Library of University of Pavia, where almost all of Ambrogio's collection of Armenian manuscripts reside to this day. Connecting these manuscripts to the citations within the text was the work of long hours of comparison and searching.

The Scientific and Practical Value of the Work

The work makes available to future investigations all of the Armenian citations of late Renaissance printed works about the Armenians authored by non-Armenians. In order to have access to this range of material, I have had to travel to numerous and widely scattered libraries. This will no longer be necessary.

It will also be possible due to this research to more definitively state the actual extent of interest in matters Armenian among the Latinate academy of Europe.

My Previous Presentations on the Subject

I have shared my work on Ambrogio and his influences at a number of international conferences: the Conference on New Approaches to Medieval Armenian held at Leiden University in 1994 and Fifth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics held at McGill University, Montreal in 1995. I will continue that tradition by reading a paper on Ambrogio's methodologies for learning Armenian at the Sixth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics to be held in Paris in July, 1999.

The paper on Galanus was read at a Conference Celebrating Orbeli's Contributions to Orientalist Studies, given at the Caucasian Centre for Iranian Studies, Yerevan, in 1997. A paper looking at the actual facts behind the creation of the

alphabets investigated by Ambrogio was read at the Conference Celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Oriental Faculty of Yerevan State University.

I would like to thank all those whose questions and comments directed to my work at these fora helped me to expand and deepen my appreciation of the issues raised.

I also have a number of papers on Ambrogio that have been accepted for publication and will soon appear: **Ստրոմայեր, Վ. (1999) «Նկարագրություն Ամբրոջիո Թեզեոյի** Introductio... **գրքի Մատենադարանի օրինակի վերաշարված-վերատեղադրված թերթերի (61-92, 178-180)»** to be published in the next issue of ***Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես*** ; Strohmeyer, V. B. (1999) 'The Orientalist Incunables: Between the Manuscript and the Printed Book,' to appear in an upcoming issue of *La Bibliografia*.

My articles and books about Ambrogio and his successors, which have been published, are listed in the bibliography.

Closing Notes

Besides the works described here, I have found a number of pertinent materials in the Vatican's manuscript collection, especially documents on the conversion of Armenians to Catholicism: there are two transcriptions of Armenian texts into Latin letters done with the help of the Armenian catachumens dating from the middle of the 16th century, which I will include in a susequent study.

For the liturgists, I have discovered a Latin manuscript translation of the Armenian Liturgy (worked on by Teseo in the 1520s) that is in the University of Rome's Alexandrine Library. There is no Armenian in the text however.

I have also used Teseo's Armenian, Hebrew and Syriac manuscripts that are available in the University of Pavia's fine collection of manuscripts--open incidentally to the public from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., a schedule quite peculiar to that institution from my experience in Italy.

In Budapest, the Corviniana (in the Széchenyi National Library) has a fine collection of the extant works of Postel and I would suggest that anyone looking into that scholar do his research in the library's beautiful surroundings with the aid of its highly accomplished staff.

My personal concerns (teaching languages within a large institution) have led me to to the question how one learns a language and how one's errors arise and are maintained. The following is a fertile field for this investigation: especially in the matter of accurate information embedded in areas of evident mistakes and misunderstandings.

Are we justified to dismiss the entire corpus if we meet gross errors (Postel's personal knowledge of Turkey and the Middle East places him apart from our other scholars [he says that all the Armenians he met in Turkey used their language liturgically and used Turkish daily.]; he wrote many books on the pronunciation of Greek, Arabic and Hebrew and was fascinated by the topic of phonology; however, he makes the most egregious errors in transcription and he even describes the Coptic alphabet as proper to Georgia.)? Do we have the right to excuse or ignore peculiar lacunae in an author's knowledge if he has evident competence in the larger field, which leaves little explanation for the lapse: Teseo's table of the -թիւն declension is peculiar indeed : 175b-176a -ութայ, -ութիւ, -ութաբ, -ութենէ; only the last item has any resemblence (the ablative) to the Grabar declension in all the manuals; the others have lost the nasal entirely and seem to be indeterminedly used as nom., acc., or oblique within his texts. Could this be simply a bit of knowledge that he never acquired or is it the evidence for a dialect development that would occur if the accent shifted from the final syllable in polysyllabic forms (due to Persian influence in Tabriz?) and only the ablative form, where the nasal is protected by a final vowel, retains the nasals: all of this would suppose the original Tabrizi dialect had undergone stress shift and nasalization of the vowel in final syllables and then loss of that nasalization?

Finally, what do we do with someone who has the best working knowledge of the language, but has (through his informants and his purpose, the creation of a civil language (see Nichanian pp. 256-257) mixed the registers and dialects: Rivola is roundly condemned by the Mechitarists and by Schroeder for his Turkicisms and his colloquial

forms--տար for տանիր/մենք for մեք, but his grammar sustained a century-long missionary establishment (beginning in 1584) of the Propagation of the Faith in the Orient? (Bologness and Nichanian)

Introduction: The Significance and Impact of Ambrogio

Teseo Ambrogio, *Introductio in Chaldaicum linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas, characterum differentium Alphabeta circiter quadraginta,et eorumdem invicem conformatio; mystica et chabalistica quamplurima scitu digna. Et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afrani. Teseo Ambrosio ex Comitbus Albonesii J. U. Doct. Papien. Canonico Regulari Lateranensi, ac Sancti Petri in Coelo Aureo Papiae Praeposito, Authore.* MDXXXIX.

Guillaume Postel, *Linguarum duodecem characteribus differentium Alphabetum*, Paris, 1538.

My work will introduce the reader to nearly all of the printed Armenian material readily available to scholars during the late Renaissance (the 16th and early 17th centuries). It will also examine the manuscript sources for these publications and discuss the Renaissance vision of Armenia and the Armenian language in the light of the texts being presented to its academic Latinate audience.

The context within which these texts were studied was one that was strictly philosophical and theological. This will be given greater specification below, but the reader must realize that the Christian nature of the texts meant that the Armenians were naturally considered part of a larger Christian Oecumene and nothing very alien was found within these texts to raise alarm or extravagant curiosity. The alphabet was extremely interesting because of the universal belief given Kabbalism (in Platonic garb) during the entire period, and we will say much about this; however, the manuscript sources for the texts used were extremely limited and most of them were of Catholic Armenian provenance or were Armenian translations of well-known Greek classics. These latter would raise particular translation problems between the Greek originals and the traditional Latin translations, but almost all of this discussion was profoundly non-controversial.

In addition, the linguistic and grammatical categories used by all of the authors are derivative of those inaugurated by Aristotle and canonized by Priscian and Donatus (Collinge; Robins). Although all of our cited works would be influenced by Arabic and Hebrew philosophical grammatical theory, the effect is hidden by the older terminology (Collinge). Only the actual translation of Armenian grammars based on Thrax (accomplished by Galanus) overtly made a new, old authority available to the Renaissance .

By the middle 17th century the great theological controversies would be raging as Catholic missionaries sought to save the world from Protestant and all other heresies. The earlier Renaissance was still one Christian World faced by a powerful enemy, renewed Ottoman Isalm, and Christian Brotherhood was the common academic stance.

Ambrogio's huge work of some 400 pages and Postel's smaller work of some 80 are monuments to printing and to erudition: both contain extensive samples of some 40 different languages and their alphabets with extensive grammatical commentaries and complete Roman alphabet transcriptions. As storehouses of linguistic data they are unrivaled: they allow an aural and visual snapshot of the languages in question (those of the Orient and Africa) during their Medieval Periods.

These two works have been considered fascinating curiosities for more than four centuries: they have been delved into for linguistic examples, some of their plates have been reproduced for their beauty and exotic qualities, and they have been quoted for their background information given on the Oriental and African peoples whose languages were illustrated therein, but they have hardly been appreciated as their authors intended if they have not been made available as complete works.

There is a moral thread that runs throughout both works and that thread can only be discerned with the entire works in hand: humankind is one in origin, thought, belief and behavior. Both these men were profoundly religious and humanistic, and both these men suffered for their beliefs throughout their lives. Postel recorded that life of suffering in a vast series of works and tracts; Ambrogio saw most of his work destroyed through the ravages of war and his only published book is the one in question.

These texts are awe-inspiring to read for the labor and learning displayed, but they have many practical scholarly potentialities, which can only be realized if they are extensively annotated and given a modern critical apparatus. They are repositories of the pronunciation of the languages described during their time: we cannot know how a language was pronounced unless we find a consistent spelling error in a native-speaker's writing or we find a name or word of the language reproduced in another language's writing system. Within these works we have numerous opportunities to hear languages and dialects that we could never have heard otherwise.

More important, these compilations are the most extensive and definitive expositions of the Renaissance philosophical theories of national and linguistic relationships: only by reading the entirety of these works can we understand the particulars of past hypotheses of mankind's interconnectedness: an issue of profound importance for our present attempts to answer similar questions and to use those answers to develop realistic policies.

The scholars who might refer to this work are legion: philosophers, comparative Semiticists, Indo-Europeanists, Caucasists, etc; historical linguists of all stripes, historians of ideas: religious, scientific, political, orientalist, etc., and all of the philologists and textual scholars working in the languages described.

Part I: A Philosophical Prolegomenon:

Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi's work requires for its understanding a great deal of world-view reorientation on the part of the uninitiated reader. The reader unfamiliar with Renaissance Latin Academic writings is plunged into a sea of petty and confusing references couched in the most nuanced Latin imaginable. In Ambrogio's case the confusion is even more abrupt due to the presence of almost uninterrupted citations from Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Ethiopic (Ge'ez), Chaldaean, Coptic, Arabic, Vuandalic, Macedonian, Dalmatian, Armenian, etc. religious texts in the original alphabets so that the eye/mind must read in multiple directions as it scans a page.

It is my intention to provide a detailed map of the territory for the reader interested in the large amount of Armenian contained in the text. However, it is essential that we first give a general introduction to the goals that Ambrogio sought to reach in his one and only published book (written, printed and published almost entirely through his own efforts).

The life-long goal of Ambrogio'sß was the publication of a proper Syriac Psalter. This goal was never realized, but the *Introductio...* represents a sort of introduction to the entire project: almost 80% of its citations are from the Psalms, in whatever language, and almost all of the philological discussions center around textual dissention among the various translations of the Songs of King David. The other goal of the *Introductio....* is the detailed exploration of the relationships between the World's known alphabets (not languages as we think of them). All of this is in the context of Eternity and there is no diachronic analysis as such attempted. Manuscripts written and copied in various situations and times are all treated as one synchronic source for the facts of the language; nonetheless, all of the conflicting evidence is duly noted so that this odd testimonial becomes a primary source for historical investigation.

Ambrogio believed in and practiced a common version of the Perennial Philosophy that provided the intellectual environment for scholarship from Petrarch and Pico della Mirandola to Newton, Grotius and Leibnitz: this vision accepted as unquestionable the divine authorship of scripture; the reality of miracles; the importance of prayer, astrology, numerology, alchemy, kabbalism, and prophecy as relevant technologies for the interpretation of the higher reality adumbrated by our lower one, the world and all in it; the existence of angels, demons, jinn, gnomes, etc. and their abilities to intrude upon our World; the need for a scholar to be familiar with all of the works that describe these interrelationships; the primacy of three languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew (although Latin could be replaced by Armenian, Arabic, Coptic or Syriac depending upon the confession of the individual [see Wakefield]); the spiritual primacy in human nature, and the need for accurate interpretation due to the fact that falsity can only enter this realm through the physically clouded state of human understanding.

This is a very long list, but quite a few of us today, who consider ourselves rational scientific beings, continue to hold to a majority of the points above. This philosophical

orientation was a point of agreement among Jews, Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus, but the first three enjoyed a special relationship as they agreed upon a common intellectual library that illuminated their exploration of this manifold: the Bible and the Greeks. When we read Ambrogio with these points in mind, our sympathies for his odd collocations and weird argumentation must increase.

For, he is still approaching language and thought through Aristotelian categories. He has, however, new tools provided by the Arab and Hebrew scholars (influenced thereby from Indian studies), (Collinge; Ramat) and he is attempting to coordinate this seemingly conflicting collection without any wilingness to question or reconsider the bedrock convictions, which we have listed.

The Renaissance was never of time of Philosophical innovation; it was a period of consolidation within philosophy. The upheavals in Byzantium and the Orient brought to the West a broader palette of the familiar philosophers (Aristotle and Plato largely) as well as important critical translations of older texts in languages new to Europeans (Armenian, Arabic, Syriac, etc.). This wealth spread throughout the intellectual community due to the recent invention of printing so that the impact became thorough going. This confirmation of the universality of the Medieval philosophical tradition posed a challenge to Europeans awakening to their own power to compare and critique a wide spectrum of texts. It was this closure of the Medieval view point which we recognize in Ambrogio and Postel. The critique would come in the next century with the dawning of the Age of Reason and Scientific Experimentation, when a more particularly European voice and vision would be handed on to the Enlightenment (Grafton; Gehl a.).

In addition to this, Ambrogio's Faith (Christianity of the Roman Catholic variety) was equally unquestioned. He died during the dawning of the fragmentation of Western Christendom, yet his entire professional work (Papal investigator into the Eastern Churches' Orthodoxy) was predicated on the ecumenical union of all Christian Churches, especially those under threat from militant Ottoman Islam. He ironically possessed a surprising variety of Armenian confessional writings: probably a Chalcedonian Orthodox Psalter, two Armenian Catholic liturgical manuscripts and Apostolic collections of the Church Fathers (writing on Christology and the Trinity), yet none of his commentary

mentions any of the inherent conflicts that these texts might contain. His 'secular' works were translations from the Greek of Porphyry, Aristotle, Euclid and Philo, but our concept of the Perennial Philosophy denies any system of thought the designation secular: everything is in the Divine domain and everything must have something to say about the Divinity (in Ambrogio's case something to say about a Divinity seen from a distinctly 'Catholic' point of view).

Guillaume Postel (16th century) would take all of these realities most deeply to heart as a Jesuit and missionary to the East: he dreamed of arguing the Muslims to Christianity using the Koran! But, the times would change and our later authors would live in a fragmented Christianity, where sympathy and tolerance were treated as heresy and treason.

Rivola and Galanus (17th century), missionaries to the Armenians from the Propaganda Fide, were warriors in the Catholic fight to save the souls in the East from their own errors and the errors of the Protestants. The breadth of vision had narrowed enormously in the century after Ambrogio's death, and his works were serving different ends because of different realities. Yet, again, it would not be a commonplace for these two men to have realized the change in circumstance or vision; they would have argued that the change was entirely on the part of the heretics. Nonetheless, there is a mighty consistency to their thinking and their predecessors' and I will argue below that this extends far back in time and space (farther than they might have been able to imagine).

The last person to be mentioned here is J. Schroeder (18th century), who would learn his Armenian in Amsterdam from New Julfa merchants, priests and printers. He would be the first to work with a wider variety of Armenian texts (especially histories) and he would also bring a new vision of linguistic breadth to the Armenian language: etymology, dialects and social register among other things. Yet, underpinning all remained some version of our Perennial Philosophy or Faith. Minds were changing, but they insisted on imagining that change in geological terms: Aristotle could still challenge Newton. The revolutionary slippage of the intellectual continents was due more to the massive weight of accumulated information rather than to some visionary intelligence that could separate the intellectual wheat from the chaff (Grafton).

We, who are living in the aftermath of this intellectual revolution, the Enlightenment and 19th Century Materialism, which raised History and Change to the hierarchical summit, must work hard to appreciate the wonderful intelligence and cohesion of Ambrogio's Renaissance visions of Platonic serenity. It can be done, and we have among us those who continue to view the world with Renaissance eyes (all such are considered cranks, but invited to Talk Shows and certain to sell blockbuster novels or autobiographies). During the research and thinking for this book, I have discovered three prime examples of the Ambrogian mind-set: one book is *The Word* , written by an Israeli who derives modern English from Hebrew, another is *The Bible, the Quran, and Science* written by a French doctor, who claims to reconcile science with religion, and, finally, there is an obscure paper that I found in an Armenian academic biology journal, in which the author attempts to show that biochemistry and physics accord with the 38 letters of the divinely granted Armenian alphabet. (Mozeson; Bucaille; Poghosyan)

Far from laughing at any of these studies, my time with Ambrogio has shown me why great minds can consider reality in these, to us, odd ways. Newton, himself, or Leibnitz would have found great cogency in all of the above authors' argumentation. To have such defenders is a great honor, which we should never trivialize.

The following pages are an exploration of this philosophical territory. Yet, this book brings something else into play. I have carefully culled all of the Armenian material found in Ambrogio and given, if possible, its manuscript origins. The less philosophically inclined will find much in the work to intrigue their imaginations. Whether the reader is a philologist or historian of philosophical thought, I hope that he or she responds to my work and Ambrogio's with sympathy and an open heart.

Part II: The Significance of Teseo Ambrogio's Alphabetical Compendium (1539) and Guillaume Postel's Far-Shorter and Derivative Work (1538) for Philosophy, Middle Eastern Studies, Linguistics, Religious Studies, and the History of Ideas.

Ambrogio's and Postel's books are visually some of the most impressive monuments to early printing: the creation of over 25 fonts alone is a feat of artistic and scholastic note. As you can see from the tables of contents included below, the ethnic, linguistic and historical compass is breath-taking.

In an age worried about correcting multicultural misunderstanding and misinformation, these works from the Renaissance remind us that the world of the civilized and the scholarly has always been a multicultural one and that printing very early on attempted to slake that very human thirst for the exotic and the unknown.

Part III: The Contents of Teseo Ambrogio's Book:

The book's pagination is by folio so that the page numbers are given by folio number recto/verso. The total number of folios is 215 so that there are 430 pages.

The following is a translation of Ambrogio's Index Capitulorum, found on Folio 8:

Folios 2-8: Introductory plaudits from various contemporary scholars.

Folio 9 Chapter 1: The Chaldean Alphabet

Folio 9 Chapter 2: The derivation and ancestry of the names of the alphabet.

Folio 10 Chapter 3: The divine names connected to the letters of the alphabet in their received order.

Folios 10-20 Chapter 4: The division of all languages' letters into two types, vowels and consonants.

Folios 21-73 Chapter 5: Concerning the consonants of Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syriac.

Folios 74-78 Chapter 6: Concerning the various vocalic pointing systems.

Folios 79-85 Chapter 7: Concerning the vowels of Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic.

Folio 86 Chapter 8: Concerning the buccal instruments (lips, teeth, and tongue), which characterize the various letters.

Folios 87-88 Chapter 9: Concerning the letters of more than one form in Hebrew, Chaldean, and Punic.

Folios 89-131 Chapter 10: Concerning the radical and auxiliary functions of the letters with many interesting kabbalistic and historical annotations.

Folios 132-134 Chapter 11: Concerning the Chaldean numbers and the alphabetical numerical system.

Folios 135-141 Chapter 12: Concerning the various grammatical functions of Chaldean syllabic morphology.

Folio 142 Chapter 13: Concerning the Armenians and the origin of their alphabet.

Folios 143-173 Chapter 14: Concerning the divisions of the Armenian letters into vowels, diphthongs, and consonants with their Latin equivalents.

Folios 174-183 Chapter 15: Concerning the various grammatical functions of the Armenian syllabic morphology; an illustration of the Phagotis; a catalogue of the eminent men of Pavia.

The Vuandalic alphabet is variously illustrated on the following folios: 50, 51, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 77, 149, 150, 158, 163, 166, 167, 170, 171, and 174.

Folios 184-192: Chaldean and Armenian textual examples.

Folios 193-215: Miscellaneous appendices: 24 different alphabets, a description of Arabic grammar, and descriptions of magical writing.

The following is Ambrogio's summary of the alphabets discussed (Folio 1):

The names of the languages and alphabets illustrated in this work:

Chaldean	Dalmatian
Samaritan	Illyrian
Assyrian	Indian (Ethiopic: Mayerson)
Syriac	Armenian
Phoenician	Vuandalic
Hebrew	A Cipher of Apollonius of Tyana

Arabic	A Cipher of Virgil (the Magus)
Punic	Hieroglyphs
Persian	Babylonian
Tartar	Eritrean
Turkish	Saracen
Latin	Egyptian
Greek	Etruscan
Jacobite	Gothic
Coptic	Hibernian (Irish)
Macedonian	Georgian
Missian	Unknown
Bulgarian	Characters given a Spolentan magician
Serbian	
Russian	

Teseo Ambrogio's book (430 closely printed pages) is a vast mine of information that has hardly been plumbed. Most of the reference books mention it for its description of the Phagotus (an early oboe) and this four page entry in a book of over four hundred pages is the most common notice that the book receives.

Specialists in Armenology and Syriac Studies know it as one of the earliest examples of printed Armenian and Syriac outside of the confessional groups themselves, but due to the many seemingly erroneous readings (especially in the Armenian), these specialists have considered it a curiousity worthy of little more than mention (the dialect study of Armenian and the confessional tongues of Syriac or Coptic have long collected native scribes' errors for evidence of differing pronunciations, etc., but the mistakes of former scholars have usually been treated with disdain).

My comparisons of Ambrogio's printed texts and his manuscripts has shown that most of the errors did not originate with Ambrogio: he is a faithful copyist of whatever he found within the manuscripts that came into his possession and there is equal reason to believe that (excluding the influence of his kabbalistic theories that give superordinate

weight to the written letter rather than to the sound) he was as scrupulous when transcribing his informants' renditions of those texts.

Historians of Renaissance Orientalism and Linguistics have had greater reason to cull this particular source, but there has been little done with the actual materials collected there except as examples of the Biblically based linguistic theories of the author.

Part IV: Postel's Table of Contents:

Guillaume Postel, *Linguarum duodecem characteribus differentium Alphabetum*, Paris, 1538. : (There is no pagination, but the book has only 75 pages)

Hebrew

Chaldean (Aramaic)

Modern Chaldean (Syriac)

Samaritan, which is the original Hebrew according to Postel)

Arabic or the Punic (with a compendious grammar)

Indic (as Ethiopic was known in the Middle Ages: Mayerson)

Greek

Georgian (a gross error as the texts are Coptic)

Serbian

Illyrian or Dalmatian

Armenian

Latin

Guillaume Postel's book had a far greater print run and being only some 80 pages in length has far fewer examples of texts, but it is especially valuable when read with Ambrogio's work because he lifted most of the examples of languages that he was not familiar with directly from his friend and mentor, Ambrogio, while acquiring their pronunciations on his own, and with those languages for which he had the greater

experience: Arabic, Greek and Turkish, his materials prove a cautionary and explanatory addition to the texts which Ambrogio did include.

A comment by Vrej Nersessian upon a later French publication of an Armenian alphabet and Hayr Mer, Pierre Victor Cayet, *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis orientalibus praecipuiis, Arabica, Armena, Syra* [sic]*, Aethiopica* (1569), clearly shows the influence of Postel's and by derivation, AmbrogioTeseo's, works on later Western printed exempla of that language. Nersessian writes, 'The Armenian text of the Lord's prayer (pp. 79-80), followed with a transliteration and Latin translation... [has] several misprints in the text of the prayer, such as '*or yerkins des* [es]; *elic'i* [elic'in]' which are also repeated in the Latin transcription and in all subsequent publications using this text.' (Nercessian p. 37) As we shall see, this version of the Lord's prayer derives from Pavia MS 347, a Kaffa Catholic Armenian Lectionary, used by Ambrogio for his printed text (the words of which he misdivided; it should read, *or yerkinsd es*) and then presented as a woodblock print in Postel whence they came to Cayet and from Ambrogio directly to Rivola (1624), who provided a specious grammatical explanation.

Part V: Conclusions

When I first examined the book four years ago at the Newberry Library in Chicago, I was most excited by the presence of a full roman-alphabet transcription for all of the citations in the original alphabets. As a linguist, it was as if I had found a 460 year old informant, for there is little hard information about a language's actual pronunciation at a certain time if it retains the same writing system for millenia: the orthography of the English word 'love' or 'debt' has little to say about its present, Shakespearean or dialectal pronunciations, but if I search in ships' logs from the Seventeenth century and find spellings like 'luff,' 'luv,' 'det,' or 'dit,' then I can feel fairly sure what the comtemporary speller was speaking to me with a more phonetic voice.

Ambrogio's book has given scholarship the phonetic notes of a Sixteenth century scholar, who had a wide acquaintanceship with the contemporary travellers from the East,

and one who had, with his friend Guillaume Postel, quite a fascination with the sound of the languages that he was studying.

I needed to know who his informants were, where they came from and what manuscript traditions they offered him. These have been the questions that I have been investigating in the Armenian sphere, and all the methodologies that I have developed there are easily transferable to the other languages contained in his work.

I persuaded the Armenian Chair at UCLA to acquire microfilms of Ambrogio's and Postel's works for the library and as soon as these arrived, I had hard-copies made. I have examined the copies that exist in a number of libraries: the Marciana in Venice, the Manuscriptorium in Yerevan, and the Library of the Armenian Monastery on San Lazzaro in Venice. I have collated the variations (some of the scripts were not fonted, but added by hand), and I have collected most of the marginal annotations.

I have discovered the remnants of Ambrogio's library in Pavia and have compared his printed Armenian texts with his Armenian manuscripts; I have also discovered his handwritten interlinears and annotations: these too should be included in a greater variorum text for the best use of his linguistic data. At the Vatican Library and Venice's Marciana, I have largely collected the references to Ambrogio in biographical, historical, linguistic and religious works from his time until the present: I would have liked to have worked in Milan's Ambrosiana, but it has been closed for remodelling.

The languages that Ambrogio and Postel heard from their various informants were not those that present scholars recreate for the delectation of their students: our present pronunciational traditions were not yet completed and the informants were not necessarily privy to the traditions created by their own specialists: these were probably merchants as often as they were highly educated clerics; thus, the breadth of their dialectal variation might be greater than a modern scholar would obtain by going to his well-known sources.

If we can fix the territorial origin of these informants we can add to the dialect maps of these languages during the 16th century. We would be writing mini-grammars of the language presented to Ambrogio and Postel and noting the areas where it deviated most from the received canon. If manuscript mistakes (mis-readings and spellings) could not explain the facts, we might suppose that dialect differences were at work.

It is best to illustrate the pronunciational uncertainty that an Armenian text is heir too. The following is the ever popular and very often to be referred to 'Pater Noster' (Hayr Mer); I have transcribed the text using the Meillet system, followed that with a Western (1) dialect phonemic representation, followed by an Eastern (2) dialect phonemic representation, followed by a word for word translation into English. The text is that referred to by Nercessian above and found in numerous books of exempla of curious Christian language lore. The questionable readings are in bold print and the pronunciation maintains the received text's wording and inflectional forms. It originates in Ambrogio's MS 347 (14th century) and it reappears throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in almost all of the nations of Europe:

Hayr mer or yerkins **des** surb eliĉi anun

1 Hayr mer vor herginas tes surp yeŕiĉi anu

2 Hayr mer vor herkinas des surb yeŕiĉi anu

Father our who in heaven thou art holy be name

ko. ekesĉē ark'ayut**'ai** k'o elicin kamk' k'o

1 ko. yegesce arkayuta ko, yeŕicin gamk k

2 ko. yekesĉe ark'ayut'a k'o, yeŕicin kamk' k

thy. Come kingdom thy, be will(s) thy

orpēs yerkins ew ierkri. zhaĉ mer **hanap-**

1 vorbes hergines yev hergri. ezhac mer hanab-

2 vorpes herkinas yev herkri. ezhaĉ mer hanap-

As on heavens and earth. Bread our dai-

ĉord tur mez ays**awr** ew t'ol mez **zpaar-**

1 zort dur mez aysōr yev toŕ mez ezbaar

2 zord tur mez aysōr yev t'oŕ mez ezpaar

ly give us today and allow us ow-

tis mer orpēs ew mek' t'olumk' meroĉ **part-**

1 dis mer vorbes yev mek toŕumk meroc barc

2 tis mer vorpes yev mek' t'oŕumk' meroĉ part

ings our as we allow to us ow-

panać ew mi tanir zmez i ṕorju**fai** ayl

1 banac yev mi darir əzmez i porcuta ayl

2 panać yev mi tanir əzmez i ṕorjufa ayl

ers and do not lead us into temptations but

ṕrke**ay** zmez i čarē. zi ḱo ē arḱayu**fai**

1 pergya əzmez i čare. zi ko e arkayuta

2 ṕərkya əzmez i čare. zi ḱo e arḱayufa

free us from evil. For thine is kingdom

ew **zawrufai** ew ṕaŕḱ yawiteana **Amen**.

1 yev zōruta yev park havidyanea. amen.

2 yev zōrufa yev ṕaŕḱ havityanea amen.

and power and glory forever. Amen.

Chapter I: Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi: His Life and His Manuscripts

The following is a short biography of Teseo Ambrogio and a description of the Armenian manuscripts he used to compile his famous *Introductio...* of 1539. As we proceed it will become apparent that both enterprises are interwoven.

Part I: Ambrogio's Life:

One of the most intriguing figures among a very circumscribed group of 16th century Orientalist scholars is Teseo Ambrogio or Ambrogio Teseo* of the noble family of the Albonese. That small group included Johann Potken, Guillaume Postel and Johann Albrecht (or Albert) von Widmanstetter: all of these men would be instrumental in the spread of the Semitic languages into the universities of Europe on the eve of the Reformation, when this new branch of philology would be used in the battles over whose Biblical tradition was most authentic.

Teseo Ambrogio would become one of Leo X's chosen investigators into the orthodoxy of the Maronite, Armenian, and Jacobite churches in the Ottoman Empire. (Terenzio, 1860; Penna, 1946; Mercoti, 1937, etc.) He would also be an influential teacher, interlocutor and epistolary colleague to all of the above mentioned; however, unlike them, he has been largely lost to the history of ideas.

Besides the Semitic languages, Teseo Ambrogio also collected manuscripts and translated materials from the sacred books of the Armenians. He had no idea that he was dealing with an Indo- European language, but his work was to be referred to throughout the 16th and 17th centuries as the pre-eminent source for the Armenian language for non-Armenian enthusiasts. (Strohmeyer, 1995a; 1995b)

We are ignorant of Ambrogio's parents, but he was born in Pavia in 1469 into the illustrious family of the Albonese (who have been known since the 13th century from a

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* As we shall see repeatedly the order of given names is often reversed in our sources or even changed, e.g. Albert for Albrecht. Ambrogio gives the order, Theseus Ambrosius, on his title page from the *Introductio...*and I will follow his pattern.

Juliano de Albonexio, vicar of Alba whose signature was found on a charter of 1272. (Terenzio, 1860 p. 3)

Little is known of his youth and adolescence except that his father put him under the discipline of good teachers, probably not Pavese as he studied in Milan just before his coming of age. Rosini, the 17th century biographer of Teseo Ambrogio's Order's famous men, repeats the marvel that he learned to speak his mother tongue at a mere fifteen months, a fact Tiraboschi refuses to give credence, but both agree that he wrote and spoke Italian, Latin and Greek by his 15th year. (Mazzacheli, 1753) Ambrogio himself notes: `Potuimus enim in multis decipi, quandoquidem latinis dumtaxat praeceptionibus, in quibus tantum profecimus, ut ad hunc gradum veniremus, atque graecarum primis literarum rudimentis exceptis, in reliquis omnibus de quibus in hac nostra variarum literaram harmonia locuti sumus ego ipse (novit Deus quia non mentior) autodidactos extiti.' (Ambrogio, Folio 177^{r})

Finishing his minor studies in Milan, he returned to Pavia to study the law under Stephen Ottone and Andrea da Bassignana and perhaps someone of the name Corti (Ambrogio, 180^{rv}). Graduating in the law at age 19, he went on to teach at the university and to come to the attention of the Duke of Milan. He rejected worldly honors in his 20th year and entered the religious order of the Augustinians (Ordine dei chierici regolari di S. Agostino, canonici Lateranensi) at the cathedral of S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro in Pavia. While Tiraboschi considers his legal career all hearsay, Terenzio follows Celso Rosini, who as a member of the same religious order a century later, might have spoken to some that had known Ambrogio's intimate friends. (Terenzio, 1860 p. 5) Thus, Rosini claims that he accompanied Charles VIII of France on his progress to claim the Kingdom of Naples and he was a Consul of the College of Justice in his native city. (de Rosinis, 1649)

On the 3rd of May, 1512, in the last year of his life, Pope Julius II opened a council at the Lateran (the Fifth Lateran Council, continued by Leo X) in opposition to one being held in Pisa by five schismatic cardinals. Ambrogio found himself at the time in his order's hostel in Rome, where he commenced his literary career. (Mercati; Penna)

One Johann Potken, a provost, who was the friend of the renowned Cornelius Agrippa (born in Köln in 1486) (Shumaker, 1972, pp. 134-157), had prepared and

printed an Ethiopic Psalter. Ambrogio was immediately attracted to this learned man and was excited by his works; however, he felt that he was mistaken in his notion that Ethiopic represented Chaldaic. Ambrosio used a number of arguments, including the direction of the script, its discontinuity with Hebrew, Samaritan or Arabic, and the late classical designation of Indic for the Ethiopic language, (Ambrogio, 17^{v} & 18^{r}; Terenzio, 1860; Nestle, 1904; Mayerson, 1993) but he was unable to dissuade his new friend. We realize today the appropriateness of some of Ambrogio's arguments and the foreshadowing within them of comparative Semitic studies. (Contini, 1994)

At the council, Ambrogio met various members of the Ethiopian delegation from their King, David, (Leo X sent a letter to this same David from the King of Portugal suggesting an alliance; the emissary was an Armenian merchant, Matthew, who might have been known to Ambrogio) (Pankhurst, 1977; Penna, 1946) and other priests from Syria: among which there was the priest Joseph, a deacon/monk Moses, and the subdeacon Elia, all representatives of the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch. The Catholics at the council were uncertain of the orthodoxy of the Chaldaic Mass used by the Maronites.

The Cardinal of the Holy Cross, Bernardino Carvajal, (Mercati), withwhom Ambrogio was staying asked him to translate the Maronite liturgy into Latin* . Leo X (1513-14) allowed Ambrogio two years to teach Elia the Subdeacon Latin during which time Ambrogio learned Arabic and Syriac (Chaldaic). According to Ambrogio himself (Ambrogio, Folio 14^{rv}; Penna, p.147; Strothman) he had Elia read out the liturgy in Chaldaic and Arabic while Ambrogio translated it into Hebrew and Latin. This version of Ambrogio's instruction in Oriental languages is confirmed by Albrecht Widmanstetter,who heard it from Ambrogio's mouth. (Widmanstetter, 1555) Ambrogio was subsequently named to the chair of Syrio-Chaldaic studies at the University of Bologna by Leo X. (Pennoti, 1628; Penna).

While in Rome he was also consulting the learned Jews of the city in order to improve his Hebrew and to learn Aramaic (sister dialect to Chaldaic). Among these were

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* Mercati notes a codex in the Este Library in Modena that may be this book. It is described as a Latin translation of the John Chrysostom Liturgy written in 1519 by one Ambrosio Comite. It contains the Maronite, Ethiopic and Armenian liturgies. The last was obtained from David, the Armenian Catholic Bishop of Cyprus, who may be the source for many of Ambrogio's Armenian books. See below.

Abdia, an Aaron, an Abraham of Balmis and Joseph `Gallus' son of Julian II's physician, Samuel Zarfati (Zarfati means Frenchman n Hebrew and so his son's sobriquet, `Gallus'). (Levi Della Vida, 1960;Ambrogio, Folio 14[rv]) At this time he launched his project to publish a Chaldaic Psalter (Mercati; Levi Della Vida 1960). With the death of Leo X in 1521, Ambrogio returned to Pavia to cloister himself to complete his book.

During this period he became convinced that the various forms of Aramaic, Chaldaic, Babylonian and Syriac (often used to mean the Syrian dialect of Arabic written with the Syriac alphabet), were actually the language preceding Hebrew. (Terenzio, 1860)

He began the work of creating fonts for his languages (all of which are crude but very legible) and preparing his texts for publication, but while called away to Ravenna for a synod of his order, the French (1527) sacked and burned his city destroying the work of a decade. So much of his life's work was destroyed and the Chaldaic, Syrian, Armenian, Hebrew, Greek and various other books he had carried from Rome were now scattered. (Terenzio, 1860 p. 9; Nestle; Ambrogio, 15[rv])

Ambrogio conquered his desolation and collected the fragments of his library, continuing the work he had begun 12 years ago. There is even a manuscript of the Gospels in Arabic said to be in his own hand, dated 1528. In February, 1530 Charles V and Clement VII met in Bologna to plan the liberation of Florence; among the emperor's courtiers was one Johann Albrecht (Albert) Widmanstetter, jurist, senator, and chancellor of the Province of Eastern Austria. He was renowned in his time for his many scholarly friendships and for his knowledge of Oriental languages, especially Syriac. Widmanstetter had to stay in Reggio as there were no rooms to be had in Bologna. (Widmanstetter, 1555; Müller, 1907)

While there he entered the cathedral, where an older, very learned canon showed him a Gospel in Syriac in the cloister's library. The canon recounted fifteen years of travail learning the Oriental languages and Widmanstetter was very impressed with him. From the narration of this story in his preface to his edition of the Syriac Gospel of 1555, it is clear that this canon was Ambrogio. (Müller, pp. 17 & 24)

In the year 1534 we find him again afraid of a disaster similar to that which happened in Pavia and he is looking for a safe haven for a scholar's work. He goes to the Canonica di s. Giovanni Battista in Ferrara. (Terenzio, 1860 p.12; Ambrogio, 178^{rv}-179^{rv}) Here he is under the protection of his uncle Afranio degli Albonesi, who is in special favor at the Este Court because of his reputation as a musician (especially for his invention of the `phagotus.') After seven years search, he has found the place to renew his work on the Psalter. He begins his labor to bring Chaldaic language and literature to a wider audience and to prove his theses against Potken.

Although he had replaced lost portions of the psalter and renewed his fonts (now including many other languages), he still found himself no nearer completion of the project three years later in 1537. (Terenzio, 1860 p.13; Penna) He had begun to work with the Cremona printer, Giovanni Maria Simoneta, who was also the printer of the *Introductio...* (Penna)

He made a trip to Venice in pursuit of his dream and there met Guillaume Postel, who had just returned from his sojourn in Constantinople. Postel showed instant interest in Ambrogio's work, sharing an obsession with Oriental tongues. He also intervened in Ambrogio's behalf with Daniel Bomberg, the oriental typographer in Venice. Venice was full of foreigners ready to inform the curious about their languages' phonetics, grammars, and orthography. (Ambrogio, 193^{rv}-195^{rv})

When Ambrogio returned to Ferrara his project was back on track, and Postel had already left for Paris having first asked Ambrogio's fonts for his planned book, which would be his justification as Orientalist par excellence in the North.

The 70 year old Ambrogio was surprised to find that Postel had completed a small work exemplifying the 12 alphabets that Ambrogio had shown him. This opuscule (published in 1538) was the work of a few months and all of the exemplars were wood-cuts rather than actually set in fonts (because, Postel claimed, Ambrogio had never sent the promised fonts). (Secret 1961 and 1966; Ambrogio, 194^{rv}). Also there were numerous errors and only the comments on Arabic (which Postel knew well), Aethiopic, Greek and Latin have any lasting value; however, it earned Postel his coveted post of teacher of Greek, Latin and Arabic at Francis I's newly created `College of the Three

Languages,' which was to become the Collège de France. (Kuntz, 1981 pp 28-31; Bouwsma, 1957)

In the correspondence between Postel and Ambrogio reprinted in Ambrogio's *Introductio...* a number of books are mentioned: a *Quran*, printed in Brescia in 1516 by the son of Alessandro Paganini (a famous printer of that city), and there is also mention made of an Armenian Diurninum, which Postel desired and which may be the same as Codex 346 in Pavia's University Library or one of the early Armenian books printed in Venice in 1512. (Ambrogio, 194) Most scholars follow Secret in denying any plagiarism to Postel's book (although his Armenian text is lifted from Ambrogio) (Strohmeyer, 1995a); it is clear that Ambrogio bore him no grudge and as we shall see below, there is reason to suspect that Postel's commentary on the various languages influenced Ambrogio.

Ambrogio had left Ferrara for Pavia, where his order requested that he take up his old post of Canon of San Pietro in Ciel d'oro (Penna) It was there that he received Postel's small book. He was both troubled and emboldened by the many errors contained therein (Ambrogio, 17^{v} & 18^{rv}); however, he was without the patronage of his uncle and the duke of Ferrara. Determined to complete one of his planned works, he received many notable scholars from France, England and Spain to display the scope of his `*Introductio...*'; he waylaid Gerard of Antwerp, a famous Flemish scholar, on his way to Rome through Ferrara and interested him enough to bring him to Pavia. (Terenzio, 1860 p. 16)

His `*Introductio...*' was finished on March 1, 1539, in Pavia, but Ambrogio never came to publish his longed for Psalter as death overtook him soon after this date. Ambrogio was an angelic figure, who never kept a grudge; he disagreed amiably with Potken and did not speak badly of opportunistic Postel. Such mildness of nature was rare indeed during the Cinquecento. (Terenzio, 1860, pp. 17-19)

Part II: Ambrogio's *Introductio...*:

As we have seen, Ambrogio printed one work in his long lifetime although we know he produced a number of manuscripts besides. Cardinal Mercati suggests that one such manuscript, his 1517-1519 translation of the Chaldaic Liturgy, is the work described in Puntoni's *Studi italiani di filologia classica,* IV (1896), 392-393:

> Iohannis Chrysostomi liturgia [20 `Missa Scti Ioannis Chrysostomi . e. greco .in : latinum traducta: || ' 1 48 `Ritus missae Caldeorum ‹sic› Maronitarum ab Ambrosio Comite. V. I. doctore Canonico Congregationis Lateranensis ad verbum servata de industria verborum puritate fideliter translati' *Paratus sacredos* etc. [latine] 88v alphabetum syriacum 2 154-91v liturgica syriace binis columnis exarata 3 158 liturgia aethiopice 170 Basilii Magni liturgia armenice]. (Mercati, p. 509)

This manuscript also mentions the name of David, bishop of the Armenian Catholics of Cyprus: he is perhaps one source for the Armenian manuscripts in Ambrogio's possession.

Besides this manuscript, Terenzio reports the existence of an Arabic Gospel in Ambrogio's hand in the Library of the University of Pavia. I have not seen it, and I had thought it was likely in Syriac letters, for Ambrogio calls Arabic in Arabic letters `Punic' or North African (the Maronites probably wrote all of their Arabic in Syriac or Chaldaic letters as opposed to the Estranghelo used by the Nestorians.) (Costaz, 1955) However, Professor Mauro Zonta has kindly examined the manuscript reported on in de Marchi (p. 102 Codex 185) and this manuscript definitely came from Ambrogio's library at S. Petro in Coelo Aureo and had been prepared in 1528; Terenzio is quite correct in thinking it in his hand: Prof. Zonta reports,

> A note in Latin at the beginning of the text, folio 148v bottom declares that the manuscript was copied by Ambrogio himself. At the end of Matthew, there isanother note in Latin declaring that the copy of Mark was finished Sept. 27, 1528, at 11 p.m. in the house of the canon of St. Anthony's Conegliano (now in the province of Treviso, Veneto). At the end of Mark: Finis ad laudem dei Conigliani in Canonica Sancti Antonii..manu...Ambrosii de Comitibus Albonesiis... hora 19 novembri 14 anno d. 1528; furthermore, The passage of

Luke 3, 23-28 quoted in the *Introductio...* folios 25v-27v corresponds here to the text at folio 46v-r.' (Note that the material in the *Introductio...* is in Syriac script.)

It is in Arabic letters that are vocalized, although not always correctly, and has extensive Latin interlinear glosses and marginal notes. The text is only of Matthew, Mark and some nineteen chapters of St. Luke (19, 34).

In the same library, Codex 446 is a fragment of a Hebrew-Latin vocabulary written in Ambrogio's hand. (De Marchi, 1894) As we shall see, almost all of Ambrogio's Armenian manuscripts are heavily glossed in Latin and if this was his common procedure in other languages (there is no reason to doubt it), it is quite possible that he had produced for his own use vocabularies of Armenian, Chaldaic and other languages; however, much of this work may have been lost in the sacking of Pavia.

These are the only extant works of Ambrogio besides the *Introductio...*, and this last work is a compendium of the most varied sort. Not only is it a linguistic treasure-trove, it is also a record of Ambrogio's many epistolary friendships and a collection of many of the weirdest demonological accounts known from the time.

Here we might note that there are other traces of the printed books that Ambrogio possessed that might have contributed to his completing the *Introductio....* In a recent article in *La Bibliofilîa*, Angela Nuovo reports that three books in the Biblioteca del Collegio Ghislieri di Pavia have Ambrogio's autograph: a Greek *Hippocrates* (1538), Aristotle's *Ethics* (1537), and Muenster's *Dictionarium trilingue* (Latin-Greek-Hebrew of 1530). The later must have been extensively used. All of this is mentioned in the context of her article concerning the recent discovery of a printed Koran, which has already been mentioned as having been described by Ambrogio in the *Introductio...* (83^{v}-85^{v})

This unique example of a Koran printed by Paganini was discovered in the Library of the Franciscan Friars of San Michele in Isola, in Venice. It has Ambrogio's autograph, as does other of his books and manuscripts and it is heavily glossed in Latin with the phrases and words divided with slash lines as are those of his other Armenian manuscripts. This is an interesting confirmation of the consistency of Ambrogio's language learning methodology across various and differing tongues. (Nuovo)

I have compared three of the very few extant copies of his magnum opus, the *Introductio...*: one from the Newberry in Chicago, another from San Lazzaro and the last from the Matenadaran in Yerevan (this last is a very recent gift from an Italian benefactor). Other copies of the book exist in the National Library in Paris (with Postel's marginal notations) (Secret), at Oxford, in the Library of Congress, and at the University of Pavia's Library. There may be other copies in private collections or other national libraries, but it is obviously not a very common book.

My examination of the three exempla shows that there seemed to be at least two separate printings of the book. As we have said above, Giovanni Simoneta of Cremona worked very closely with Ambrogio on the project, and worked in at least five typeset alphabets (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac/Chaldaic, Geez/Ethiopic/Indic and Armenian) and allowed for six or seven more (Coptic, Old Church Slavic, Arabic, Runic, Samaritan, etc.) to be added by hand. Given the difficulties faced by a typesetter and proofreader and the fact that Ambrogio himself was to die very soon and could not have been well, it is surprising that the work could have gone through two complete editions.

The Newberry and San Lazzaro copies have very few differences and are from the same printing. All of the discrepancies are found in the handwritten additions, but it is interesting that many of the emendations noted on the last page seem superfluous, as they are already present on the pages noted.

The Matenadaran's copy suggests that these first two are from the second printing. (However, please refer to the Appendix to Chapter I) This copy is a conflation of quires from two different settings of the book. Folios 61-93 are set in a very small Latin font and line justification varies wildly from the first two examples; however, the remainder of the folios are set in a larger font and are the same as the Newberry and the San Lazzaro editions with one exception that I will go into below. The emendations referring to these folios (61-93) are never superfluous and it might, therefore, be the case that these folios are from the first edition of the work and that in the second edition, some corrections were added from the emendations without deleting the emending notation. There is also a missing word from a Syriac quotation, which is present in the transcription

and also present in the other two copies in the original and the transcription (78^{r}). This item was not listed in the emendations and was only caught in the second printing.

The copy in Yerevan (besides being a conflation of two settings) has only blanks were the handwritten alphabetical exempla appear in the others. This is a great pity, for it is almost impossible to follow Ambrogio's arguments about the relationships between Coptic, Macedonian (Old Bulgarian), etc. without the examples.

The last variation from the more common second edition are the folios (178^{v}-181^{v}) showing an illustration of the Phagotus (his uncle's invention) (on 178^{v} and 179^{r}) and describing the instrument's virtues and his own educational history. These pages have been reset up to 181^{r} and one word has been changed on 181^{v}, instead of *viventi* we find *superstiti*. This change is intriguing because it is also on these folios that Ambrogio starts to recount his childhood and early education. The meaning of the passage does not change as `living' is not greatly different from `surviving' (this note on Latin stylistics is due to the aid of Prof. Traina of Perugia), but the latter is of a higher style and I cannot be sure whether the one or the other represents the latest reading.

The careful work that went into the production of the *Introductio...* is everywhere evident to the reader. Yet, with so many languages and texts, how accurate could the typesetters be and how much credence can we place in the odder readings found in Ambrogio's familiar texts? To answer those questions, we must examine Ambrogio's manuscript sources for his Armenian materials.

Part III: How One 15th/16th Century Scholar Learned Armenian: the Case of Teseo Ambrogio

The processes involved in learning a language are usually explored within the discipline of 'applied linguistics;' however, there are few historical studies within that discipline. This is usually accounted for by the inherent difficulties of reconstructing the learning process without the presence of the actual learner. Most historical presentations of language learning such as Howatt's *A History of English Language Teaching* have used Grammars and Dictionaries as the basis for their research.

The Renaissance Armenologist Teseo Ambrogio (1469-1540) opens a much more nuanced window onto the very language learning means used by a late 15th and early 16th century academic (especially one learning a language late in life). We possess his one published book, *Introductio in Chaldaicum linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas, characterum differentium Alphabeta circiter quadraginta,et eorumdem invicem conformatio; mystica et chabalistica quamplurima scitu digna. Et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afrani*. Teseo Ambrosio ex Comitibus Albonesii J. U. Doct. Papien. Canonico Regulari Lateranensi, ac Sancti Petri in Coelo Aureo Papiae Praeposito, Authore. MDXXXIX (1539), which recounts his explorations of Oriental Christian linguistic and alphabetic lore. The largest selections come from Syriac and Armenian although there is also a short Arabic grammar and alphabetical exemplars from over 30 languages and cyphers.

This curious book can now be augmented with the extant remnants of Ambrogio' manuscript collections found in Pavia, in his native city's university: an Arabic Gospel in his hand, a Hebrew dictionary also in his hand, and four large codices in Armenian. An examination of the materials in the codices (a lectionary, 14th century, a Breviary, also 14th, and selections from various Armenian translations of Greek texts: Aristotle, Porphyry, Philo, Euclid, and an anonymous pharmicological text, most having 7th to 9th century origins although copied in the 11th or 12th) can be compared to the selections in the *Introductio...*

The comparison is illuminating. There is almost nothing quoted in the text that cannot be found within his manuscripts (the numerous quotations from the Psalms have almost all been found within MS 346; however, a few examples using a text very much influenced by the Septuagint's Greek argue for his possession of now lost Chalcedonian Armenian text) and this allows us to consider the Armenian MSS nearly his complete collection. All of his earlier books, an Armenian liturgy among them, were scattered or destroyed during the repeated sackings of Pavia by the French. This preserved Armenian collection must have been late and probably contemporary with the publication of his book (during the last decade of his life; he died age 71). This period was one of relative peace in Italy and also a period when Armenian refugees from Tabriz

(recently destroyed by the Ottomans) were active in Rome as recounted by Ambrogio himself.

Our exposition of the learning process will attempt to follow the traditional skills required of students of any language: listening, reading, speaking, and writing. Often these are divided once more into the categories, production--speaking and writing-- and reproduction--listening and reading, but most cognitive studies today agree that as much internal production is involved in external reproduction as internal reproduction is involved in external production; therefore, I will divide my explorations into the above four categories. In an appendix to this paper, I will give a detailed table of contents for the Armenian Codices owned by Ambrogio. Most of the references to Ambrogio's materials within the paper proper will refer to texts found in the *Introductio...* but taken from one codex or another.

I: Why Armenian?

Chaldaic and Syriac were the primary interests of Ambrogio's life. Yet, Potken's misidentification of Ethiopic (Ge'ez) as Chaldaean was quite enough to turn his attention to that language in depth and the geographical contiguity of Armenian to the Nestorian centers of religious power would have warranted his curiosity as well. Moreover, his first Ethiopian interlocutor was probably the Armenian merchant, Matthew, who acted as the Ethiopian Emperor's delegate to Europe and the Papacy.

On the 3rd of May, 1512, in the last year of his life, Pope Julius II opened a council at the Lateran (the Fifth Lateran Council, continued by Leo X) in opposition to one being held in Pisa by five schismatic cardinals. Ambrogio met various members of the Ethiopian delegation from their King, David, (Leo X sent a letter to this same David from the King of Portugal suggesting an alliance; the emissary was an Armenian merchant, Matthew, who must have been known to Ambrogio) (Pankhurst, 1977; Penna, 1946) and other priests from Syria: among whom there were the priest Joseph, a deacon/monk Moses, and the subdeacon Elia, all representatives of the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch.

The Catholics at the council were uncertain of the orthodoxy of the Chaldaic Mass used by the Maronites.

The Cardinal of the Holy Cross, Bernardino Carvajal, (Mercati), with whom Ambrogio was staying asked him to translate the Maronite liturgy into Latin*. Leo X (1513-14) allowed Ambrogio two years to teach Elia the Subdeacon Latin during which time Ambrogio learned Arabic and Syriac (Chaldaic). According to Ambrogio himself (Ambrogio, Folio 14^{rv}; Penna, p.147; Strothman) he had Elia read out the liturgy in Chaldaic and Arabic while Ambrogio translated it into Hebrew and Latin. This version of Ambrogio's instruction in Oriental languages is confirmed by Albrecht Widmanstetter, who heard it from Ambrogio's mouth. (Widmanstetter, 1555) Ambrogio was subsequently named to the chair of Syrio-Chaldaic studies at the University of Bologna by Leo X. (Pennoti, 1628; Penna).

As we have seen, Ambrogio printed one work in his long lifetime although we know he produced a number of manuscripts besides. Cardinal Mercati suggests that one such manuscript, his 1517-1519 translation of the Chaldaic, Ethiopic, and Armenian Liturgies, is the work described in Puntoni's *Studi italiani di filologia classica,* IV (1896), 392-393:

> Iohannis Chrysostomi liturgia [20 `Missa Scti Ioannis Chrysostomi . e. greco . in : latinum traducta: || ' [1] 48 `Ritus missae Caldeorum ‹sic› Maronitarum ab Ambrosio Comite. V. I. doctore Canonico Congregationis Lateranensis ad verbum servata de industria verborum puritate fideliter translati' *Paratus sacredos* etc. [latine] 88^{v} alphabetum syriacum [2] 154-91^{v} liturgica syriace binis columnis exarata [3] 158 liturgia aethiopice 170 Basilii Magni liturgia armenice]. (Mercati, p. 509)

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* Mercati notes a codex in the Este Library in Modena that may be this book. It is described as a Latin translation of the John Chrysostom Liturgy written in 1519 by one Ambrosio Comite.

This manuscript also mentions the name of David, bishop of the Armenian Catholics of Cyprus: he is perhaps another source for some of the Armenian manuscripts in Ambrogio's possession.

Thus, in the middle of a long career, Ambrogio brought together his interest in Chaldaic, Ethiopic (his Indic) and Armenian. These three would still be influencing his views of Armenia in his late printed work: Armenians would be connected to Prester John (Ethiopia) and to Nestorian bishops. The facts about Armenia would be better presented in Postel's short work (derivative of Ambrogio's), but colored by an actual residence in the Levant, which intermixed further fantasy with harder facts (see Appendix I).

In Ambrogio's description, the Indian Pontiff could be from either India (India or Ethiopia). Prester John was a mythic figure, whose realm moved from Central Asia to India to Africa depending on the sources. (Mayerson; Sanders; Forbath) It is very intriguing that Ambrogio would trot out such a figure as this when he had John of Tabriz and Matthew, the envoy of the Ethiopians, to inform him concerning Armenian realities. The fact that Sanders and many other scholars note the search for Prester John to have partially motivated Henry the Navigator, popes and the kings of Spain in their financial backing of expeditions to the East and Africa suggests an answer. The Armenians were using this mythic connection because of this ruler's popularity with the patrons that they were dealing with; the fable held more promise of success than the truth. The Patriarch mentioned, Simas, could refer to the Chaldaean Patriarchs of the Shim'uns (some eight of that name are recorded). (Frazee p. 57; Graf) Ambrogio was entirely entranced with the Chaldean Church and the Nestorians were living close to Armenia proper and had major seats in Diyarbakir and Mosul. It is disturbing that an earlier and widely reprinted book, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), gives a much more realistic and practical description of actual Armenian prelates and religious practices (Nersessian 1990), and Postel's description is far more in von Breydenbach's manner.

The references to Christians as people of the cincture or belt is made again by Postel (1538, folio recto 8) where he refers to the Chaldaeans as living among the Mountains of Lebanon, where they are known vulgarly as the 'Christianos de zona.'

Postel may be the source of the remark in Ambrogio as he was widely travelled in the Levant. It is interesting that in the very same passage he refers to 'Vir ad rem Christianam ornandam natus, Frater Ambrogio Papiensis Ferrariae...' The very learned Prof. Richard also notes that the Copts were known as 'people of the belt,' and that such distinguishing sumptuary codes were commonly forced upon Christians in Muslim states.

We, then, see a patterned connection between Ambrogio's Syriac, Ethiopic and Armenian explorations. Uniquely, it is the Armenian discoveries that will engage him most in the last years of his life and it is these Armenian codices which have survived as witnesses to the general textual fidelity of his only printed work.

II. Listening

How does one analyze an ancient author's auditory acuity? Although Bishop David (surely a Western Dialect speaker) and Matthew (present in Ambrogio's life fully twenty years before the manuscripts we possess) must have had an influence upon his understanding of Armenian's phonology, it is clearly John of Tabriz or one of his compatriots, who advised Ambrogio upon the phonetics of the written tongue. Ambrogio had clear examples of the alternative dialect readings of Armenian texts in the annotations found within Codex 179 and an Armenian-Latin glossary added to Codex 178:

On folio 101 of MS 179 a Greek-Armenian glossary of philosophical technical terms is added, in a new hand, at the bottom of both pages. Examples from this list of some 10 terms will show that the transcription follows the Classical or Eastern values for the Armenian Alphabet:

1. ջարաբանական/դիալիքտիկէ (dialik'tike)
2. բացասութիւն/ապօ$ասիս (apofasis)
3. նախադասութիւն/պրօ$ասիս (profasis)

These Greek words may be transcribed according to a traditional system of alphabetical values or they may represent the Eastern Dialect's phonolgy.

On the end pages of MS 178, a Latin-Armenian glossary of philosophical terms is added in a new hand (quite distinct from the one above). This transcription is clearly Western in its phonology and describes the sound of Latin as it would have been spoken in the Middle Ages (one should note the more Classical orthography/phonology of Ambrogio' transcription below):

1. տեսակ/սբեցիես (sbec'ies)
2. սեռ/ձենուս (chenus)
3. տարբերութիւն/տի$երենցիա (tiferenc'ia)
4. գոյացութիւն/սուպստանցիամ (supstanc'iam)

Although there is some ambivalence in the values of 'voiced stops' before 's,' the general feel of the words requires a Western dialectal ambiance. When we examine what letter values Ambrogio used to transcribe Latin into Armenian, we find that he follows the Orient, not the Occident. Ambrogio wrote his own Latin titles in Armenian script on the cover-page of MS 346:

.դուռնալ.

. դոմնի Ամբռոսիյ
. բապիենսյս էծ կոմյտի
. բվս նյկուվի ետ աղբո
. նեսյի . կանոնյկի ռեգու
. ղարիս կոնգրեգատիոնիս
. ղատերանէնսիս.

The writer is ambivalent about the voicing in 'Papiensis' but there is a clear preference for Eastern values and even an imposition of the Renaissnce i/j and u/v

indistinctness upon the Armenian transliteration: Domni Ambrosij Bapiensjs ex Comjtibvs Njcuvi et Albonesji. Canonjci Regularis Congregationis Lateranensis. or Teseo Ambrosio ex Comitibus Albonesii J. U. Doct. Papien. Canonico Regulari Lateranensi

Ambrogio writes of only one specific Armenian who told him about the nation: John of Tabriz. Whether he was strictly a teacher is difficult to determine, while his influence upon the transcriptional dialect is obvious; Ambrogio transcribes all of his major texts in the Eastern rather than the Western or Medieval Armenian phonologies. Yet one can plainly see the traces of Western speakers in his sections on the pronunciational variants of names, not to mention the orthographical disparaties he detects.

This John was especially mentioned as he recounts the recent history of a very important Catholic outpost in the East, Tabriz, and because his own history is so pitiable (Richard). It is also possible that John was an especial friend of Ambrogio's old age.

Tabriz had been recently ravaged by the Turks in John's account and John had been ransomed from captivity by the Dominicans. In 1514, the city had been taken by Selim, but it had been attacked again by Suleiman in 1534. The later date is also the beginnings of Ambrogio's Armenian font, which was created in Ferrara and added to his other fonts that had been saved from the sacking of Pavia. (Fumagelli; Diz.)

What would be more natural than that two men recently driven from their homes should become fast friends. It is also possibly the language's recent instruction which accounts for its disproportionate inclusion in the book.

I am suggesting that John had been only recently ransomed and that he was the source of Ambrogio's interest in Armenian; of course, Ambrogio, being a born scholar and collector of curiosities, did not stop with one source of information, but immediately sought out other Armenians in Venice and its environs to augment his heady stream of information from John. Nonetheless, all of Ambrogio's material is based upon Eastern, not Western dialectal information.

John was most likely a Catholic given his enlargement by the Dominicans; he is also labelled a nobleman: something useful to claim when travelling in a foreign country, but also something very likely true. John was very literate in his native tongue and had

given Ambrogio access to a number of works; his education would have been difficult to obtain if he had not some status in his community.

John's dialect will have to wait for another study, but we can see that Ambrogio's transliterations while not fully vocalizable and most intent on giving a letter for a letter, have variable values for 'schwas' and, in general attempt to fill out abbreviations:

Recto 150 (*Introductio....*):

2 Kings 5, 6 (2 Samuel 5, 6 in the King James Version; from MS 347, folio verso 121): **Առ եբուսացիսն (յեբուսացին) բնակեալ յերկրին** 'Ar Ebusaztisn (Yebusac'in) bnaceal iercrin.' (Among the Jebusites living in the land...) Note that the 'y-less' form of Jebusite is not the standard form in Armenian; the scribe must have assumed the 'y' to be the preposition 'i' and to have dropped it before the preposition 'arr.'

Luke 1, 67 (MS 347 Folio verso 66): **և զա.քարիայ Հայր նորա.** eu Zachariai (Zacharia) hair nora.' (and his father Zacharia...).

Mark 3, 17 (MS 347 Folio recto 90): **և յակովբու զեբեդեա (Զեբեդեայ).** eu iacoubu zebedea (Zebedeay).' (and James son of Zebedee...) Here the Latin spelling, which was contrasted above with one with 'th', is given in the Armenian and this last is the common spelling (Bedrossian).

Luke: 19, 5-6: **զակ.քէ $ութա (փութա) եջ (էջ այտի) զի այսօր յ (ի) տան քում պարտէ (արժան է) ինչ (ինձ) ագանել և փութացեալ (փութացաւ) եջ (էջ) և ընկալաւ զնա ուրախութի (ուրախութեամբ) ի տուն իւր.** Zacchæ phutha ech (ædj ayti) zi aisôr i (i not y in the Armenian text) tan chum partæ (this word meaning from a cause or reason is replaced in the received text with the phrase, 'arzhan æ') ins (the text's 'inch' is a mistaken reading for indz) aganel, eu (there is no 'eu' but rather a :) phuthazteal ech eu iencalau zna vrahhuthani i tun iur (the last word of the received text is 'uraxutheamb' (Hurry down, Zachaeus, for I must stay in your house today, and he came down and received him joyously into his house); the abbreviation of the 'thiwn' ending is regularly misunderstood by Ambrogio and the words

'i tun iur' are not in the received text; these words are not found either in the Vulgate and seem to be added to the text from an Armenian textual tradition). We note again the strange voiceless and supposedly aspirated stop form 'ech.'

Verso 152-Recto 154 (*Introductio....*):

Ambrogio begins a discussion of the value of է /æ/ and ը schwa. The discussion of schwa is the most fascinating as he correctly gives the phonetic environment of its initial use and, therefore has the clue to the pronunciation of z- before a consonant (before initial z, n, m, s, gl), yet he only gives this value recto 154.

Luke 24, 13 (MS 347 Missing folio 43): Անուն նորա էմաւուս 'anun nora æmauus (Emmauus) (its name, Emmaus). The spelling with 'æ' is not common and is not suggested by the Latin, Emmaus.

He notes զ.քեզ 'zchez' and ըզ.քեզ 'iezchez' saying that there is no change in the semantics.

He also gives examples of prepositions beginning with schwa:

Psalm 118 (Ambrogio identifies this as 119): 88: ըստ ողորմութե~ .քում կեցո զիս 'iest oglormuthene (-thean) chum cezto zis.' (Be kind to me according to your mercy...)

Porphyry (MS 178): ըստ որում ասի. նախ տես[inverted]ակ արժանի գոռոզութե~. 'iest orum asi nahh tesac arxani gorhozuthene (-thean).' (According to which it is said that the First Species has pride of place...)

Psalm 146, 6: ընդունի զհեզս տր~. 'ienduni zhezs tear (tær).' (The Lord receives the humble...).

Verso 154 (*Introductio....*):

John 10: 16: յայսմ գաւթե. 'iaism gauthe (gauthæ) (in this Sheepfold); մի հաւտ և մի հովիւ. mi haut eu mi houiu (one flock and one shepherd). Ambrogio very mistakenly expatiates upon the puzzling nature of the changes in the spelling

'gauthe' to 'haut;' unhappily he is ignorant of the fact that these two represent quite different words: `sheepfold' and 'flock.'

Ambrogio has continued on to the letter 'Th.'

1 Timothy 6, 15: **Թագաւորն Թագաւորաց և տեարն տերանց.** Thagauorn (thagawor) thagauorazt eu tearn (tær) teranzt (King of Kings and Lord of Lords).

Psalm 145, 10 (146): **Թագաւորեսցէ տր՟ յտ՟ն.** 'Thagauoreszt (the transcription is missing the final 'e'; however, the received text is 'thagavoresc'æ') tear (Tær) iauitean.' (The Lord shall rule forever.)

Թագաւորն խաղաղարար մեծագործեաց. (MS 346 folio verso 28 Gradual) 'Thagauorn hhaglaglarar mezzagorzzeazt.'(The king magnified the peacemaker.) Ambrogio has included it as a coda to the paragraph for more theological and hieratic than grammatical reasons.

We are now introduced to the letter **Ժ** 'zh.'

Isaiah 9:2: **Ժողովուրդ որ շրջէր ի խաւարի ետես զլոյս մեծ.** 'Zoglouurd or sarquer i hhauari etes zlois metz.' (The folk who move in the darkness saw a great light.) (The received text uses different words: zhoghovurd or gnayr ie(schwa)nd xawar etes loys mec; MS 347 does not have this text in its present much damaged state). Besides the variant reading of the text, the transcription of /dzh/ as 'qu' is very anomalous; furthermore, the transcription of the same word includes a helping vowel 'a' which is not written in the Armenian letters. A number of explanations been suggested to me concerning the odd transliteration 'sarquer'; one is that Ambrogius wrote 'scrgier' and that his handwriting was misread by his typesetter. This is not a very frequent occurrence in the book as a whole and therefore is doubtful. Since the Armenian would be a far more possible locus for mistakes and due to the odd reading of the text itself ('shrdzher' for 'gnayr') it is also possible that the text had originally 'sarkher' although the semantics are not particularly apt nor does the verb itself commonly appear in Grabar texts.[**]

[**] The first explanation is the kind suggestion of Prof. Alessandro Orengo of the University of Pisa and the second is an equally kind suggestion of Dr. Vazgen Hambardzoumian of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

It may very well be that Ambrogio's knowledge of the texts made any in-depth inquisition of John unnecessary. Like some of the almost contemporary Franciscans deciphering Maya, he may only have wanted the values of the letters and then assumed that the rest was self-explanatory (unlike the Mayan situation, here there were clearly letters to value). Thus, Ambrogio's mistaken enlargements of the always abbreviated -thiwn declension and his lack of homorganic extensions of intital 'e's and 'o's may be due to his transcriptional habits and general ignorance of the language as spoken, or they may be due to the peculiarities of John's dialect. Thus, our Armenian-Latin glossary mentioned above would allow a user to accurate pronounce the Latin word without assuring accurate spelling; like the Greek-Armenian glossary, Ambrogio Latin transcriptions were tied to the visual recreation of the text rather than a correct audition of the Word.

It is certain that Ambrogio's transcription cannot be made to represent what we hear today as typical cultivated Armenian, and given a 16th century context when a 'standard pronunciation of Italian or English was unknown (Elizabeth I was a Cockney-Londoner, Shakespeare a Warwickshireman and Raleigh a Derbyshireman and all quite proud of their uniqueness), there was/is no reason for that to be the case. This printed vademecum gave a variety of Oriental texts to the language crazed academies of the time, and while the average user of the book would have a very odd notion of the pronunciation of Armenian or Syriac of any sort, he or she would be able to read Biblical, philosophical and liturgical texts if they went through all of the examples and exercises with care. We must assume that this was the minimal ability gained by Ambrogio himself in his sixth decade.

III. Reading

Besides the Codices that we will refer to throughout this article. we should look at the reading habits of a typical Renaissance scholar (Carruthers; Gehl). Ambrogio read with pen in hand, making many notes and adding lines and divisions to texts in languages with which he was becoming familiar. It is also fairly certain that like most of his

contemporaries he read aloud so that his hand, eye and voice were all part of the reading process.

Here we might note that there are other traces of the printed books that Ambrogio was collecting to rebuild his too often ravaged library; these certainly contributed to his completing the *Introductio....* In a recent article in *La Bibliofilîa*, Angela Nuovo reports that three books in the Biblioteca del Collegio Ghislieri di Pavia have Ambrogio's autograph: a Greek *Hippocrates* (1538), Aristotle's *Ethics* (1537), and Muenster's *Dictionarium trilingue* (Latin-Greek-Hebrew of 1530). The later must have been extensively used and must have augmented at a late date his own lost manuscript vocabularies that are known only from fragments. All of this is mentioned in the context of her article concerning the recent discovery of a printed Koran, which had been described by Ambrogio in the *Introductio...* (83^{v}-85^{v})

This unique example of a Koran printed by Paganini was discovered in the Library of the Franciscan Friars of San Michele in Isola, in Venice. It has Ambrogio's autograph, as does other of his books and manuscripts and it is heavily glossed in Latin with the phrases and words divided with slash lines as are those of his other Armenian manuscripts. This is an interesting confirmation of the consistency of Ambrogio's language learning methodology across various and differing tongues. (Nuovo)

Ambrogio's reading in the various languages was generally (excepting the Koran above) not very adventuresome; we could call it destressingly repetitve. He seems to have known the Christian liturgical, biblical and philosophical texts in over ten languages. Thus, reading a text in any language was also a matter of remembering the same text in another. He knew the Psalms and the Liturgy by heart, as any competent priest should, and his Armenian texts were a perfect fit for his training. This meant that he always knew the purport of his reading without necessarily knowing the grammar or the vocabulary in detail. Yet, these could be largely deciphered through the elimination of the same (proper names) and the isolation of patterns: verbal, nominal etc. Similar methods are well known to linguistic anthropologists or paleographers faced with an unknown 'version' of a well-known ballad or text.

The manuscripts are heavily annotated and glossed in Latin, words are carefully distinguished by slash lines and double slashes identify paragraphs or Biblical verses. His reading was a full body activity that including all of the above processes as a general practice (we see the evidence in all of the books that he has bequeathed us). In modern cognitive learning theory, based on differing intelligences and differently weighted brain hemispheres, we might say that Ambrogio' methods took advantage of a wide array of skills that were centered on the memory as an ordering intelligence: much of what was set on the printed page came from a well trained and stocked memory rather than from a notebook or the referenced text itself.

IV. Speaking

There is truly nothing we can say about Ambrogio's speaking Armenian except that his reading and speaking were not disjoint at the time in contrast to ours and that he probably always attempted to speak what his eyes saw on the page (Carruthers; Gehl). If we had a secret recording of the process, we would be extraordinarily blessed, for we could then make out the sounds that Ambrogio attempted to represent with his Latin transcription.

From the already mentioned story of his learning Arabic and Syriac, we have seen that learning did not always come from books alone, but even in that case he tells us that he translated Elia's Arabic into Hebrew and Latin--probably both vocally and in writing.

Thus, his conversations with John may have been in Latin, Italian or in Armenian, but from the many mistakes of the transcriptions in his last book, I would tend to believe that John spoke in Latin or Italian with Ambrogio most of the time. It is very unlikely that Armenian was a spoken language for Ambrogio and he probably could not perform an Armenian liturgical 'recitative' as he definitely could in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

V. Writing

Besides the many copies of Armenian prayers found in Ambrogio's manuscripts and in his posited notebook of exemplars prepared for the printed *Introductio...*, we possess a few of Ambrogio's attempts at Armenian composition.

We have already displayed one case of a use of the Armenian alphabet to write Latin; there is another language that Ambrogio consistently connected with Armenian, Hebrew. He used a sort of printed sticker that had the Hebrew alphabet's names in Armenian letters; the stickers found in his books are damaged and some parts are torn or worn away. This is found in at least two of his MSS:

Ալեփ բեթ գամել դաղեթ
Հէ վաւ զէ խեթ տեթ Յ[mirror-image]**ովտ**
քաբ ղամեդ միմ նուն ս [written as Omega so as to resemble a c
apital] **ամ**
աթ էց փէ ծադէ կօփ րե...

It is derived from a list found in a translation of Philo's work in MS 178 and the same list appears in his last printed work.

Verso 144 (*Introductio....*):

A list of the Hebrew alphabetical names from Pavia MS 178. In two cases, the 'shin' and the 'samkath,' the printer uses unique type faces to more closely emulate the actual manuscript appearance of the capital letters of the words on the list (Ambrogio's font had only three infrequently used capitals, **Ա, Յ, Պ**): see below. Ambrogio thinks that the list comes from Porphyry's commentaries on Aristotle (which is bound together with the manuscript of these names and a list of Hebrew names and their explanations probably from Philo): **Ալեփ** aleph ('aleph), **բեթ** beth (beth), **գամել** Gamel (gimel although gaml is an ancient form), **դաղեթ** Dagleth (daleth), **Հէ** hæ (he), **վաւ** Vau (waw), **ջէ** ze (zayin; see above), **խեթ** hhet (h'eth), **տեթ** teth (t'eth), **Յովտ** iot (yodh; see above), **քաբ** chap (Copied from manuscript; normal value, kaph), **ղամեդ**

glamed (lamedh), **մեմ** mem (mem), **նուն** nun (nun), **սւ[** printed as an Omega, which more closely resembles the manuscript's capital '**Ս'Յամ.քաթ** samchath (samekh; see above), **եց** iez ('ayin; the name given here for this letter is very puzzling), **փէ** phæ (pe), **ծադէ** zzadæ (s'adhe), **կոփ** quoph (qoph), **րեշ** res (resh), **շ[** strangely misshapen form of the letter is used here differing from the one immediately before; it resembles the shape of the '**շ**' found on folio12, MS 178**Յին** sin (shin), **թայ** thai (taw). These are named the **բառ.ք եբրայեցւոց** 'barhch iebraiezuoz' and the names given do not square with a number of the present names of the alphabet (given in parentheses), yet names are subject to change over time and Ambrogio is quite sure of this list's antiquity.

Note the frequent lapses in transcription: t for th or p for b; are we seeing the interference of the ear upon the eye?

However, this is not a true composition and rather displays the Kabbalistic importance that Armenian had for Ambrogio himself. Making a sort of charm from a specific alphabet is a common habit in the Middle East (see the Mandaeans especially), but it is an oddity that a Western scholar should do so with the Hebrew through the Armenian alphabet.

A truer compostition is found on 161:

Recto 161 (*Introductio....*):

The name **կարողոս.** Caroglos brings Ambrogio to thoughts about the Emperor Charles V and the wars with the Ottomans. It also brings him to make etymological speculations about the relation between that name of German origin, meaning basically 'slave, serf' and the Armenian word **կարողութաի.** Carogluthai 'capability, force, might.'

Paul: Ephesians 6, 11: **և կարողութաի (կարողութեամբ) զաւրութենէ (զօրութեան) նորա, եւ զգեցարուք զսպառազինութաի (զսպառազինութիւն) ~աի (Աստուծոյ): զի կարող լինիջիք կալ ընդդեմ (ընդդէմ) հնարից ռատանայի**

(սատանայի). eu Carogluthai zauruthene nora, eu zgeztaruch zsparhazinuthai astuztai: zi Charogl linizich cal iend demhnarizt satanaii. (...and through his mighty power, and clad yourself in God's armory so that you will be able to fend off Satan's deceptions). Satan is an emendation in the Armenian text and in the transcription; Ambrogio has incorrectly divided the words of 'ienddem hnarizt.' This is another of the few examples of an incorrect division of words. Note that Ambrogio has transcribed 'k' with both 'c' and 'ch'; also note that the usually careful distinguishing of /c/ with the transcription 'tz' and /c^h/ with 'zt' starts to break down and we find the use of 'zt' for both of these forms.

Ambrogio enjoyed Macaronic punning, especially if he could turn the Biblical text into a modern and relevant admonition for the good of Christianity. Thus, the Pauline text can be modified to express the following Latin prayer for the Emperor Charles: Ista beati Pauli verba a nobis hoc in loco adducta sunt, ut Carolus invictissimus Imperator noster in cordis sui penetralibus inserta, **Առէսցէ զսպառալինութաին (զսպառազինութիւնն) աստուծայ (Աստուծոյ) զի կարող լինիցի.** Arhæsztæ zsparhalinuthain astuztai. Zi Carol linizti. Accipi at armatutam Dei, ut potens sit: And the Emperor's victory will bring the following Divine restitution: resistere improbitati perfidorum adversariorum, & barbaris hostibus, & fidei Christianae inimicissimo Othomano, quod facillime (meo quidem iuditio) efficiet. Si **զկեցեալ (զգեցեալ) զռահն (զրահն) արդարութենէ (արդարութեան), և հագուցեալ զոտս պատրաստութաբ (պատրաստութամբ) աւետարանին խաղաղութենէ (խաղաղութեան).** Zcezteal zrhahn ardaruthene, eu haguzteal zots parastuthab (corrected in emendations to 'patrastuthab') auetaranin hhaglagluthene. Indutus loricam iustitiae, & calciatus pedes in praeparatione Euangelii pacis: Vere inquam illius pacis qua cum depositis odiis, & vindicandi cupiditate refrigerata, Christianissimos Reges amplexetur, nec caeteros Christiani nominis caractere insignitos, adfui benevolentia trahat, nec patiat ab exercitu, caeterisque iuri redundo perfectis tyrannice, ac spretis sacratissimis legibus vexari, rapinas bonorum, virginum raptus, incestusque & subiectorum cedes, atque tormenta publicis arcenda Imperialibus edictis prohibuerit, pietatem & mansuetudinem, potius quam faevitiam exercendam curaverit.

Note the lack of the 'nasal' in the intrumental form '-thamb' and the strange forms for the nominative, accusative and genitive of the same declension. We must mention again the possible evidence here for a nasalizing dialect, but the greater likelihood is that the constant abbreviating of this particular declension simply concealed its actual forms from Ambrogio, who understood them, but could not unfold them correctly. The twice used form 'astuztai' as the genitive of 'astuac' is evidence for the latter conjecture (although still possibly a reflex of John's dialect).

The cases are clearly given very abnormal forms in this passage, but they seem to be exactly those that Ambrogio felt were normal to Armenian. Furthermore, Ambrogio misspells two clearly properly used words from the preceeding text of Paul in his own transformation. This is hardly an easily excusable procedure. Some speculation must be given to the possibilities of Kabbalistic or numerological significance as reasons for these variations.

Nonetheless, this is Ambrogio's first very hesitant Armenian composition and its theme is very illuminating; he like so many Christian non-Armenians, who were meeting this people for the first time, wished that they might be defended from the Muslims' unjust usage by their Christian brethern. This was the theme of his first description of the Armenians on folio recto 142 and it remains the same here. It is a prayer, something common to his priestly office, and it is a claim on the commonalities of Christian brotherhood, something that his entire life was dedicated to: he had been Papal Investigator of Oriental Orthodoxy (even if we might think of his office as trying to entice the Oriental Christians into a conniving Roman fold).

All of his codices' empty pages are filled with various Armenian exercises including his short passages of Latin written out in the Armenian alphabet. Most of his work in languages other than Latin had been translation or interpretation, and even most of his Latin writings fell into these two broad categories. The Armenian composition above is directly modelled on St. Paul, but it moves beyond sufficiently to impress us with its originality. We possess nothing similar in Ambrogio' other languages. This may be because of the loss of this sort of evidence due to the destruction of so much of his earlier work; there is another possibility: Ambrogio may have identified himself with the

Armenians and their plight far more than he had with any other Christian people. Death would soon end this new direction of his (using his languages for original compositions), but it is noteworthy that this adventure had a likely Armenian provenance.

Conclusions

Thus, we can now give a fairly detailed description of the steps taken to learn Armenian by a very aged and widely admired linguist:

1. Collecting a corpus of well known (to the average educated priest) texts for translation and analysis.

2. Learning the pronunciation of the Alphabet through a comparative analysis of common Biblical Proper Names.

3. Testing that analysis against the knowledge of native informants (some cognitive dissonance here due to the dialectal variants between Eastern and Western Armenian--his informants are Eastern, but his texts display Western transcriptions of names.

4. Extensive use of the alphabet to copy out common Christian prayers and to write private cypher messages in Latin and Hebrew.

5. Steps 3 through 5 are reinforcing and not necessarily serial. His division of his texts into words and his glossing is largely confined to the lectionary, the breviary, and Aristotle. He is surprisingly accurate and must have had native informant help, yet an error analysis might explain some of his more interesting misapprehensions although others are quite beyond easy explanation.

6. The creation of a personal glossary according to the alphabet, but not strictly alphabetical: we have a remnant of his own Hebrew glossary and there is little reason to

doubt that he had similar notebooks for his other languages (Syriac, Arabic, Dalmatian, Bulgarian, Vandalic, Armenian, etc.). It was at this stage that he would have transliterated the language into Latin script. That transliteration was literal rather than phonetic although it never ignored what he knew about the phonology.

7. Personal writings using the languages learned. Frequently, these are macaronic punning texts of a serious, prayerful nature: one such text in the Introductio...plays upon Charles V name in Latin and the Armenian word 'karoghuthiwn' and its uses in St. Paul's Epistles to construct a linguistically very complex appeal to the Emperor to save the enslaved Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

Our scattered evidence of his Syriac expertise (he was enthusiastically recognized by Widmanstetter, the great contemporary publisher of Syriac texts) suggests that, had he lived, he would have gone on to more ambitious projects using Armenian. The copying out of the Arabic gospel for his students suggests that similar actitvities would have been undertaken as they actually were within the text of his one printed book, the *Introductio...* , for which he supervised the creation of all fonts and the transliteration of all texts into Latin script.

Ambrogio's language learning methods were extremely active: he used the hand, the eye, and the voice simultaneously, and they were all centered upon the memory's intelligence.

Part IV: Ambrogio's Armenian Manuscripts:

As we have seen, there are two possible early sources for Ambrogio's interest in Armenian: Bishop David of Cyprus and the merchant and papal messenger to Ethiopia, Matthew. Ambrogio has made a Latin version of the Armenian Basilian Liturgy if Cardinal Mercati is right about the origin of the Modena codex, and all of the religious manuscripts in his Pavian library (used in the compilation of the *Introductio....*) are of Catholic Armenian origin, which points the finger to Bishop David.

However, the peculiar thing about Ambrogio's Armenian transliterations is that they prefer the Eastern Armenian rendering of alphabetical values rather than the Western (which would have been the dialect of Cyprus and Cilicia). This Eastern dialect was one spoken in the Ararat region and within Iran. On folio 142^{vr} Ambrogio shortly tells of the travails of a certain John, a nobleman of Tabriz, who had been redeemed from slavery by Christian monks after his enslavement by the Ottomans, who had taken his Persian native-town of Tabriz, slain all Christian citizens of both sexes at or over 40 years and sold the remainder into slavery.

The very presence of this excursus literally in the midst of an explanation of the origins of the Armenians suggests the importance that John of Tabriz had for Ambrogio and would also explain his almost universal use of Eastern dialect values in his transliteration of Grabar texts, which were traditionally read differently in different dialect areas, while being written in the same manner: John of Tabriz may have been his major informant for the pronunciation of Armenian. (Strohmeyer, 1995b p. 174)

I have already published a detailed examination of some of the manuscript extracts used as the sources for Ambrogio's Gospel texts found in the *Introductio...* (Strohmeyer, 1995a), but the manuscripts themselves, all found in the University of Pavia's collection, have not been described since 1894, and there are a number of salient features that have not been raised at all to my knowledge: I will go through each of the four codices giving a summary of the description in De Marchi (provided by Professor Conybeare of Oxford, whose actual published description will be included as an appendix below) and adding observations that I have made on examining that codex.

We must note that Prof. Conybeare states that there were three Armenian codices of late Armenian liturgical works in Pavia beyond # 178 & 179, which he refers to as two volumes of one Codex. Today there are only two and De Marchi has only two in his catalogue of the Library's MSS. Whither could this third MS. have disappeared during the few years between Conybeare's visit and De Marchi's publication?

The answer to the question must wait further investigations in the libraries of Italy. Ambrogio's quotations in the *Introductio...* are most frequently from the Psalms and we

could say that the entire book is an extended introduction to his life-long project to publish a Syriac Paslter. However, there are no Psalm texts in Codex 347 and Codex refers to Psalms, but does not quote from them extensively. There is also reason to believe that the text he used was designed for the Orthodox Armenian Community.

I will suggest below that Rivola's extensive use of the Psalms in his Grammar (1621) requires that he had a Psalter or full Bible (yet he has few or no Old Testament references); however, Rivola was working after the printing of the Armenian Psalter in Venice by Abgar of Tokat (1566) and could have used that source. (Frazee p. 48)

Nuova, in her article on Ambrogio's Koran printed by Pagannini mentions three books in the printed book collection with Ambrogio's signature: Muenster's trilingual dictionary (Latin-Greek-Hebrew), a Greek Hippocrates and an Aristotle's Ethics. Could a manuscript Psalter have gotten into the public collection? Again this is a question to be answered in Italy.

What sort of Armenian Saghmosaranner would keep the Greek 'diapsalma' or the Hebrew 'Selah' (as in the King James)?

On folio 149 of Ambrogio's *Introductio...* he tries to show that the Greek word 'diapsalma' (found in the Septuagint where the Hebrew has 'Selah.' has the meaning 'misht' (ever) in the Armenian and he quotes 'diapsalma' in Armenian letters, **դիափսաղմա** 'Diaphsaglma.'' He must, therefore, have had an Armenian Psalter that used this transliteration of the Greek, where the King James' Version transcribes 'Selah.'

This text displays a closer adherence to the Septuagint than the Gregorian Apostolic text, and the Zohrabian text is without the 'diapsalma/selah.' The Vulgate text is without it as well and so I do not think this a Catholic Armenian text. However, an Orthodox Armenian Psalter meant for the Armenian Chalcedonian Community in Medieval Georgian or Byzantine territories might desire just such a reading. These Greek touches would have been added to the Armenian Biblical translation, just as had the Vulgate touches for Catholic Armenians. Indeed, the 'diapsalma' is transliterated in the Georgian Psalters although it is not found in Old Church Slavonic ones.

We will include all of Ambrogio's citations from the Psalms below under the title of this hypothetical 'Chalcedonian Psalter' so that the reader can more easily consider all of the evidence for its existence.

Codex178 **Miscellanea armena.**

This codex is considered together with the next #179 because both contain various parts of the Aristotle commentaries attributed to David Invictus (the early Armenian philosopher); however, folios of the commentaries are scattered between the two codices and other works are bound between its folios.

The folios are largely paper with a few in vellum and Conybeare dates them from the 11th to the 14th centuries. Cotton paper manuscripts dating before parchment ones are not a rarity in Armenia or Anatolia because the Arabs brought this Chinese innovation into the area quite early.

Folio 1. Greek-Armenian botanical vocabulary with the Greek written in Armenian letters. This work was translated from the Greek between the 5th and the 10th centuries. The words are in two columns.

Folio 4. Philo the Hebrew. Explanations of the Hebrew names found in Philo. In two columns. This list is found in Greek among the writings of Origen.

Folio 5. The names of the Hebrew letters of the alphabet in Armenian characters. Similar lists are found in the works of Origen and St. Jerome.

This same list appears on folio 144^{v} in the *Introductio...*

Folio 12. Explanations of the Jewish names found in some books of the Old Testament.

Conybeare notes that all of letters used in these four sections are elegant examples of an 11th or 12th century Armenian hand.

Folio 13. Mutilated fragment of a translation of Pseudo-Aristotle. The hand is not later than the 14th century. This fragment was published by the Mechitarians in 1833.

Folio 25. Various opinions of Church Fathers on the Trinity.

The catalogue lists the next item as Folio 132, but my notes make it folio 27^{r}-35^{r}. Porphyry's *Isagoge* translated into Armenian. The hand differs from the two proceeding. The work is attributed to David Invictus of the 5th or 6th centuries, but it is probably more recent, perhaps the 8th century. It has been published by the Mechitarians.

At the end, in Armenian characters and a little below in Latin, one reads `Pero di becarisi' who may be the Pietro de Beccarijs (a 16th century jurist and lecturer in Pavia) or the Pietro Beccaria of Ferrara, where Ambrogio spent so many years and acquired this manuscript.

The text has many Latin glosses and the word divisions are carefully marked with a stroke, which is the same method used by Ambrogio in the religious texts Codices 346 and 347. This text is also used for short references in the *Introductio...*

Folio 36^{r}. A commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (Introduction) in three different hands, but the principle hand is the same as the one above. One of the others is the same as that found in Codex 179. This has been published by the Mechitarians. The *Isagoge* was well known throughout Medieval Europe because of its Latin translation by Boethius; thus, this was familiar territory to a cleric such as Ambrogio. (Collinge, p.802)

Folio 84. Continuation of the fragment found on folio 110.

Folio 109. Blank.

Folio 110. Fragment of a commentary on the Categories of Aristotle; the hand is the same as that of the Porphyry.

Folio 117-120. Euclid's geometry: this fragmentary translation is in very faithful and idiomatic Armenian and has been published by the Mechitarians.

Codex 179 **Miscellanea armena**

Folio 1. Aristotle's Categories translated into Armenian and published by the Mechitarians. The hand is the same as one of those in the Commentary on Porphyry and dates from the 12th century. A colophon is listed as bearing the name Sarkaraq, but I clearly read Sarkavag (Armenian for Deacon of the Church).

Folio 101-174. A translation of Aristotle's On Interpretation. There are many interruptions of the pagination and some leaves are found in Codex 178.

The text has been published by the Mechitarians. There are word division strokes and Latin glosses throughout, clearly stating that Ambrogio was here.

There are also Armenian marginal notes of the 15th century noting the texts divergence from Latin copies of Aristotle's text. Both citations from the text and the marginal notes are found in the *Introductio...*

Appendix to Codices 178 & 179: **Conybeare's English Description for *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 1892**

The following is Conybeare's description of Pavia Codices 178 & 179 although he was examining them before their proper cataloguing. Sections 25-28 of his Prolegomena to his 'A Collation with the Ancient Armenian Versiona of the Greek Text of Aristotle's *Categories, De Interpretatione, De Mundo*, and *De Virtutibus et Vitis* and of Porphyry's *Introduction*,' *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1892, includes the relavant material:

xxviii PROLEGOMENA.

25. On this recension I based the collation printed pp. 1-50 of this book. When these pages were already printed I visited Pavia, where I had heard that there was in the Library of the University a Codex of David Invictus, The differences of this text from all the others were so considerable that I made a wholly fresh collation and was compelled to add as an appendix the many additions and corrections supplied by it to the Armenian text with which I had hitherto worked. In Appendix II, I print this Pavian text itself, reproducing as far as possible all its peculiarities of spelling, punctuation and accentuation. This Codex I now proceed to describe in more detail. It consists of two volumes, 130 D 42, 43. With the exception of a few quaternions in the first volume it is written on thick cotton paper, very glossy and white. The size of page is 10 x 6 3/4 inches. On an average four lines of writing fall within one linear inch. A facsimile of this MS.

is added at the end of this book. It seems to have been bound as at present in the fifteenth century. Of several quaternions the first or last folio is missing, as if the book had been read at first in loose quaternions. There is no date in either volume. The hand in which the commentary of David on the Isagoge of Porphyrius and the Categories and De Interpretatione with commentary are written out seems not later than A.D. 1300 and not earlier than A.D. 1100. This copyist could also write an uncial hand, in which he often completes the end of a line. In one place he actually digresses for half a page into small uncials. The spelling is that which is met with in Codices of the ninth and tenth and presumably older centuries. Thus instead of the later orthography **է, էր, էին, էակ, էթէ, ունէին, օ, էառ** (=ἔλαβεν), we find, though not invariably, **ե, եր, եին, եակ, եթե, ունեին, աւ, եառ**, sometimes **երկկանկուն** for **երկկանգուն**; **յաւետ** and **այղ** frequently for **յաւէտ** and **այլ**. Also **երբեք** is sometimes written for **երբէք** as in 19 b. 36, **դեպ** for **դէպ**. There are few abbreviations and none except the accustomed **-թ~ի** and **-թ~ե** for **-թիւն** and **-թեան**. The punctuation of this MS. was difficult to reproduce in print, especially the difference between two small points set together and two larger points. Both round and square dots are used, also heavy and lighter commas. Round commas frequently occur above the line and also heavier square topped commas. The double point occurs both on the line level with the writing and where there is more of a pause above the line. The single point is sometimes round, sometimes square, and comes either below, abreast of or above the line. Often from poverty of type the double point in my printed text represents two short horizontal dashes, one above the other, in the original. Occasionally triple points occur. The punctuation is peculiarly full and ample and adapted to the end of bringing out the sense of what is written. The writing is often almost continuous; and the whole system of punctuation employed seems to have been copied exactly from an older book written continuously, in which the stops served to separate the words. I cannot otherwise account for the frequent diastole or comma above the line, used where there is no elision or hiatus. Words which in later texts were written as a single whole are sometimes divided by a comma, e.g. **գրեթե** is always written **գրե, թե**. Prepositions are frequently written together with the words they precede; and occasionally a hyphen is drawn under

a compound word. The auxiliary է (=ἐστιν) is very often joined to the participle which precedes it.

The spelling of the MS. is not quite uniform and such variations as there are I have observed in printing it. Some of these variations may be mistakes of the copyist no doubt, but others may have a philological value. I have merely tried to reproduce in print the text of the MS. In copying it for the printer I have mostly separated words which were written continuously, but have tried to avoid any other change. In printing the text of the version from the Pavian Codex no pains have been spared to reproduce the accents, which are very characteristic. In few Armenian manuscripts are the words accentuated with so much care.and fulness. In a few cases, as for instance 16 a. 13, the accent is drawn.horizontally, instead of vertically, and this I have tried to keep. The subject of the ancient Armenian accent is an obscure one and in modern editions they are not printed. I hope that my care in reproducing the accentuation may be of use to philologists interested to determine the nature of the old Armenian accent.

26. The following is a list of the contents of this Manuscript : In the first volume (i) In an old hand, not the same as, but contemporary with the hand which wrote out the whole of vol. ii, is a list of Greek Botanical terms written in Armenian characters with their vulgar Armenian equivalents, (ii) In the same hand Philo's dictionary of Old Testament names. This is entitled : ' These sounds of the Hebrew names were translated into the Greek tongue by Philo, the successor of the Apostles.' This seems to be an earlier form of Philo's dictionary than any we have in Greek or Latin. The hand in which are written (i) and (ii) I call Ai. (iii) In a later hand, which we may call C, and on coarser paper follow the treatises of Aristotle De Mundo and De Virtutibus, The beginning of the former is missing. (iv)The Isagoge of Porphyry in yet another hand, which I call B, older than C, but younger than A or Ai, (v) The commentary of David on the Isagoge. The beginning of this is in hand B, but the bulk of it is in the hand A which wrote vol. ii. This part of the book is much damaged by damp. The end again of David's commentary is in yet another and very peculiar hand which I call Aii. This hand is perhaps contemporary with A, and imitates Greek writing in adding breathings at the beginning of all words which commence with vowels, (vi) An old translation in hand Ai of a commentary on the Categories, beginning

lost. (vii) The old Armenian version of Euclid, Book I as far as the 3rd Proposition with diagrams. This also in hand Ai.

Volume ii contains the Categories and De Interpretatione in the fine bold and ancient hand which I call A. In the margin and text are interpersed, chiefly in hand C, later readings of the Armenian, drawn it is sometimes stated, ' from the books of the Franks.' With few exceptions all the readings of the Venice text and of the other manuscripts which I have added in my apparatus criticus are thus added in hand C, an attempt having been often made to obliterate the true text. The contemporary hand Ai adds a few corrections in the text or margin, which I have been careful to notice at the foot of the page. Perhaps it is the same hand, if it is not actually the first hand, which sets a punctum delens here and there. Corrections by Ai must have been drawn from Greek MSS. of the fifth century. For example, it is this hand which in 19 B 8 sets a point over **οὐ**, so making the variant; "**ὄνομα μὲν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἀόριστον ὄνομα**," where the reading of all Greek codd. is : **ὄνομα μὲν οὐ λέγω, ἀλλ' ἀόριστον ὄνομα**. The same hand seems to have written in most of the chapter headings which are in red. A few of the corrections made in red I have not known whether to ascribe to A, or to C writing archaically. All readings in the hand C are corruptions of the text, and the value of the Pavian Codex lies just in this, that its text carries us back behind all these medieval corruptions to the bedrock of the fifth century version. I hesitated to notice the variants from the codex of the printed edition and of the other MSS., so universally bad are they. I only at last added them at the foot of the page by way of showing to what corruption the old Armenian texts were in the middle ages and under Frankish influences liable. This illustrates also the necessity of getting back to an earlier stratum of the text. The same care is to be observed in using for critical purposes the Armenian Bible.

27. Of the history of this Codex before the sixteenth century nothing is known. At the beginning of that century it belonged to Pero di Beccarisi, one of the noble family of that name at Pavia. A little later it belonged to Theseus Ambrosius ex comitibus Albonesii of Pavia, one of the earliest pioneers of Oriental Studies in Italy and author of the ' Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Excudebat Papiae. Ioan. Maria Simoneta Cremonen. In Canonica Sancti Petri

in Coelo Aureo. Sumptibus et Typis, autoris libri. Anno a Virginis partu. 1539. Kal. Martij.' Some of the Armenian examples in this Introductio are taken from this very manuscript and are to be found e.g. on pp. 144, 156, 165, 166. It is the 'Antiquissimus Aristotelis liber, Armenicis literis scriptus' to which Theseus Ambrogius refers on p. 168. So also on p. 144 he writes: 'In antiquissimo libro Armenicis literis scripto, in quo Porphirii Praedicabilia, et parua Aristotelis Logicalia, literis et lingua Armenica scripta continentur reperto,' and proceeds to give the transliteration of the Hebrew alphabet to be found in vol. i of this MS.

He also gives readings of Porphyry and Aristotle only to be found in this MS., and even prints in one case a note which is to be found written in the margin of this MS. by a late hand. In the University Library at Pavia are three other Armenian MSS. which belonged to Theseus Ambrosius, and in them he has written his name and titles in Armenian letters. They are only Church books of late date. The interlinear Latin glosses frequent in these and also in the versions of Porphyry and Aristotle are no doubt in his handwriting.

Codex 346 **Diurninum armenicum**

The manuscript is on paper and is a late production of the 14th century. Dr. Conybeare notes the Latin inscription in Armenian letters on the first page identifying the owner as Ambrogio and there is a plain Latin note to the same effect on the last page.

Folio recto 216 has a long insertion into the text explaining the reason for its translation dated 1343. I will give the first paragraph of the text and its translation: **Միաբան եղբարց հնազանդելոցն ս~բ մայր եղեկեցոյն հռոմայ: ես նուաստ թադեոս. եղբայր կարգին. ս~բ տոմինիկոսի, և ողորմութբ~ն ա~յ եպ~ս մայրաքաղաքին Կա$$աի. թարգմանեցի ի $ռանգ բառէ ի հայկականս՝ զժամուց գիրս՝ որ կոչի դիուռնալ:** 'From the Monastery of the Brothers Obedient to the Holy Mother Church of Rome, I, humble Thaddeus, brother of the Order of St. Dominic, and through God's Mercy,

Bishop of the Capital City, Kaffa, translated this Diurninum or Book of the Hours from the language of the Franks into the Armenian.' (Oudenrijn a)

The following is a translation of De Marchi's description which was derived from Coneybeare's notes, 'The manuscript's colophon identifies the date of its beginning as 1357 and notes the death of Bishop Thaddeus of Kafai (Kaffa on the Black Sea and a Genovese colony?); however, if this is Thaddeus Bishop of Kaffa, he is supposed to have died in 1323. Yet he is followed by a Bishop Conradus as the colophon mentions in its continuation.'

This text has been extensively mentioned in the catalogue of the Roma-Armenia Exposition at the Vatican (1999). There on page 211, Prof. Claudine Delacroix-Besnier writes, using Oudenrijn's 'Linguae haicanae scriptores (1960--of which I have only some selections available in xerox copy), that the translation was by Bishop Thaddeus of Kaffa as the internal colophone states above and that this book was recopied in Genoa by Brother Jacques Prev between 1351-1352., which clearly contracts the above information derived from a list of Bishops of Kaffa appended to the manuscript at a later date. Obviously, the manuscript had been in Italy before the time of its copying in Genoa.

The entire book is heavily annotated in Ambrogio's hand. This ends Conybeare's comments and the following will be from my examination of the book.

This book is fascinating for what has been written on its inside covers and first few blank pages. I have already discussed in another paper the two versions of the `Hayr Mer' found on those blank pages, but there are also versions of the `Ave Maria' (one on the front page with Armenian musical notation and one on the back inside cover, which both follow the texts found in Codex 346, while the text in the *Introductio...* is closest to that found in Codex 346, recto 217). There is also a stamp of the Hebrew alphabet written in Armenian characters as found in the *Introductio...* and in Codex 178.

The list of the saints are the Roman ones, whose spelling often varies wildly from traditional spellings such as **գէորգէոս** to **$ապիանոս** which clearly shows the influence of Western dialectal pronunciation. These discrepancies are discussed at length in the *Introductio....*. The simple transliteration (again in a Western dialectal fashion) of

Latin headings proves that this work is a translation of a Latin text: վիճիլիա, վէսպր՛ն (but note the inconsistent transcription of the `p' in vespers, which would normally be devoiced after `s' in both dialects) and գաբիթլ.

Folios 234-236 Contain a detailed chart (in the hand of the main text) for the calculation of Easter and subsequently the beginning dates of Lent for the Old Armenian, the Julian and the lunar calendars. The relations between these various years is displayed and the calculations are made for the years 1352-1388 (Vardanyan, 1993).

Contents of Pavia MS 346

MS 346, a translation of the Catholic Missal, is introduced by a Calendar of the Feasts of the Saints. This is translated here and wherever possible the folios pertaining to that feast day have been included. I have also noted the changes that have been made in the Church Calendar since the 14th century when this calendar was translated into Armenian from the Latin in the Crimea--these latter will be found in parentheses. I am using the Catholic Latin Missal of 1962 as my benchmark. The Calendar will be placed in the appropriate section describing the general categories of the manuscript; I will also note any scriptural texts found within the Missal, especially those quoted in Ambrogio's printed work.

Note that my pagination is three folio's ahead of that used in the MS because of an error made by the paginator.

I. Insertion of material that was not copied in its proper place:

St. Apolonia: recto 7

Sts. Peter and Paul: verso 7

St, Basil: Verso 7

The Archangels: verso 7- recto 8

II. The Calendar of Saints' Feast Days: verso 8- recto 22

January has 31 Solar and 30 Lunar:

Jan 1: Circumscision of Jesus: Octave of Christmas

Jan. 2: Octave of St. Stephan

Jan. 3: Octave of St. John

Jan. 4: Octave of the Innocent Martyrs (the Slaughtered Innocents)

Jan. 5:

Jan. 6: Epiphany

Jan. 7: The Seventy Keys (?)

Jan. 8:

Jan. 9:

Jan. 10: St. Paul, the First Incorruptible (Hermit?) (1962: Jan 15): recto 128

Jan. 11:

Jan. 12:

Jan. 13: Octave of Epiphany; Commemoration of Sts. Laron and Remigius, Bishops

Jan. 14: February; Commemoration of St. Felix, Priest and Martyr:verso 128

Jan. 15: Commemoration of St Maurus, Abbot: verso 128

Jan. 16: St. Marcellus, Pope and Martyr: verso 128

Jan. 17: St. Anthony, Abbot: verso 128

Jan. 18: St. Prisca, Virgin and Martyr: verso 128. The Sun is in Aquarius in the Third House..

Jan. 19:

Jan. 20: Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, Martyrs: recto 129

Jan. 21: St. Agnes, Virgin and Martyr: recto 129

Jan. 22: St Vincent (with Anastasius 1962) Martyr: verso 129

Jan. 23: Commemoration of St. Emerentiana, Virgin and Martyr: verso 130

Jan. 24:

Jan. 25: The Conversion of St. Paul: verso 130; Commemoration of St. Gregory the Theologian: verso 131 (Nazianensis; 1962: May 9) (Commemoration of St Peter, Apostle in 1962)

Jan. 26:

Jan, 27: Commemoration of St Julianus, Bishop: recto 132 (not in 1962)

Jan. 28: St. Agnes II, Virgin and Martyr: recto 132 (Comm. in 1962); 40 Keys to the Trinity: verso 42 (Ambrogio recto 174).

Jan. 29:

Jan. 30;

Jan. 31: St Sargis, Martyr: recto 132 (John Bosco, 1962).

Hours of the night 16/day 8.

February has 28 solar and 29 Lunar Days:

Feb. 1: St. Ignatius, Bishop and Martyr: verso 132; Completion of the Fourth Embolism.(Intercalation).

Feb. 2: The Purification of Mary, Mother of God: verso 132- recto 134

Feb. 3: Commemoration of St. Blase (spelled Vlasay), Bishop and Martyr: verso 134

Feb. 4: The Anniversary of our Fathers and Mothers

Feb. 5: Agatha, Virgin and Martyr: recto 135

Feb. 6: Commemoration of Vedastus & Amantus, Bishops: verso 135

Feb. 7:

Feb. 8: The Beginning of the Third Lent

Feb. 9:

Feb. 10: Commemoration of St. Scholastica, Virgin: verso 135 (Not comm. in 1962).

Feb. 11:

Feb. 12:

Feb. 13:

Feb. 14: March; St. Valentinus, Priest and Martyr: verso 135 (Comm. in 1962).

Feb. 15: The Sun is in Pisces.

Feb. 16:

Feb. 17:

Feb. 18:

Feb. 19:

Feb. 20:

Feb. 21:

Feb. 22: The Enthronment of St. Peter the Apostle: recto 136

Feb. 23: Vigil.

Feb. 24: St. Matthew, the Apostle: recto 136; on the 25th in Leap-Year (or the Leap).

Feb. 25:

Feb. 26:

Feb. 27:

Feb. 28:

Feb: 29: In Leap-Year Months.

Hours of the night 14/ of the day10.

March has 31 Solar and 30 Lunar Days:

Mar. 1: Commemoration of Albinus, Bishop and Teacher: verso 136 (Not in 1962).

Mar. 2:

Mar. 3:

Mar. 4:

Mar. 5: The beginning of the Seventh Embolism (Intercalation).

Mar. 6: The beginning of the Third Embolism.

Mar. 7: St. Thomas Aquinus, Doctor of the Church: verso 136- verso 137

Mar. 8:

Mar. 9: The Forty Holy Martyrs: recto 138 (Mar. 10 in 1962).

Mar. 10:

Mar. 11: Easter's keys

Mar. 12: St. Gregory, Pope: recto/verso 138

Mar. 13:

Mar. 14: The Third Lent's End . (Why only 36 days from beginning to end?)

Mar. 15: The Equinox

Mar. 16: April; The Sun is in the Ram/Aries; The first Earth Day.

Mar. 17: Ast p'oxin amk' i skzbane' ashxarhis. (Here the Years Changed from the World's Beginning).

Mar. 18:

Mar. 19:

Mar. 20:

Mar. 21: St. Benedict, Abbot: verso 138

Mar. 22: Ar'aj'in pask'ayn: (The First Easter).

Mar. 23:

Mar. 24:

Mar. 25: The Divine Gospel (Not in 1962)

Mar. 26:

Mar. 27:

Mar. 28:

Mar. 29

Mar. 30:

Mar. 31:

Hours of the night 12/day 12

April has Solar (30) days and Lunar (29):

Apr. 1:

Apr. 2:

Apr. 3: Completion of the Seventh Embolism.

Apr. 4: St. Ambrosius, Bishop: verso 140 (Not in 1962: Isidore); Completion of Sixth Embolism.

Apr. 5:

Apr. 6:

Apr. 7:

Apr. 8:

Apr. 9:

Apr. 10.

Apr. 11:

Apr. 12:

Apr. 13:

Apr. 14: May; Sts. Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus, Martyrs: verso 141 (Comm. 1962)

Apr. 15: The Keys of Prayers.

Apr. 16:

Apr. 17: The Sun is in Taurus.

Apr. 18:

Apr. 19:

Apr. 20:

Apr. 21:

Apr. 22:

Apr. 23: St. Gregory, Martyr: verso 141 (Comm. 1962).

Apr. 24:

Apr. 25: St.Mark the Evangelist: verso 141; Verj'in pask'ayn. (The Final Date of Easter).

Apr. 26:

Apr. 27:

Apr. 28: St. Vitalis, Martyr: recto 142 (Not in 1962)

Apr. 29: St. Peter, Martyr; From the Order of Preachers:recto 143

Apr. 30: The Keys of Pentacost: verso 104

The Hours of the Night (10); the Day (14)

May has 31 days Solar and 30 days Lunar:

May 1: Sts. Philip and James, Apostles: recto 143 (May 11 in 1962: St. Joseph)

May 2: Commemoration of St. Athansius, Bishop and Doctor of the Church: recto 144 (not comm. in 1962)

May 3: Discovery of the Holy Cross: verso 144- recto 145 (Not in 1962); Commemoration of Sts. Alexander, Enchrichos (Eventius 1962), and Theodule, Martyrs: recto 145

May 4: Christ's Crown of Thorns: recto 146 (Not in 1962).

May 5:

May 6: St. John the Evangelist: verso 147 Ar'aj'in dran ladinoy. (Not in 1962)

May 7:

May 8: The Appearance of Archangel Michael: recto 148 (Not in 1962).

May 9:

May 10: Sts. Gordion and Epimachus, Martyrs: recto 148 (Comm. in 1962).

May 11:

May 12: Epiphanius, Bishop: recto 148 (Not in 1962); Commemoration of Sts. Nereus and Achilles, Martyrs: recto 148 (Not comm. in 1962: Domitilla and Pancratius added).

May 13:

May 14:

May 15:

May 16: June.

May 17:

May 18: The Sun is a Guest in Gemini.

May 19: Commemoration of St. Pudentiana, Virgin: recto 148

May 20:

May 21:

May 22:

May 23:

May 24: Sts. Thomas and Nicos's Transformation of the Hosts: verso 148 (Not in 1962).

May 25: St. Urban I, Pope and Martyr: recto 149 (Comm. in 1962).

May 26:

May 27:

May 28:

May 29:

May 30:

May 31: Commemoration of St. Petronilla, Virgin: verso 149

The Hours of the Night (8); of the Day (16).

June has 30 Solar days; 29, Lunar:

June 1:

June 2: Commemoration of Sts. Marcellinus & Peter, Martyrs: verso 149 (Erasmus, Bishop also in 1962).

June 3:

June 4:

June 5:

June 6:

June 7:

June 8: St. Theodorus, Martyr; Commemoration of St. Metartus, Bishop: verso 149 (Not in 1962).

June 9: Sts. Perimos (Primus in 1962) and Felicianus, Martyrs: verso 149

June 10:

June 11: St. Barnabas, Apostle: recto 150

June 12: Sts. Basilides, Cyrinus, Naborus, and Nazarus, Martyrs: recto 150 (Comm. in 1962)

June 13: St. Anthony (of Padua 1962): recto 150

June 14: July; The Solar Summer.

June 15: Sts. Vitus & Modestus, Martyrs: recto 150 (Comm. in 1962; adds St. Crescentia)

June 16: Sts. Cyracus & Juletia, Martyrs: verso 150 (Not in 1962).

June 17: The Sun is within Cancer.

June 18: Sts. Marcus & Marcellianus, Martyrs: verso 150 (Comm. in 1962).

June 19: Sts. Gervasius & Protasius, Martyrs: verso 150 (Comm. in 1962).

June 20:

June 21:

June 22:

June 23: Vigil.

June 24: Nativity of St. John the Baptist: recto 153

June 25:

June 26: Sts. John and Paul, Martyrs: recto/verso 153

June 27:

June 28: Commemoration of St. Leo, Pope: recto 154 (Not in 1962); Vigil

June 29: Sts. Peter and Paul, Apostles: recto 7 & recto/verso 154

June 30: In Commemoration of St. Paul, Apostle: verso 154.

The Hours of the Night are 6 and of the Day 18.

July has 31 Solar days; 30, Lunar:

July 1: Octave of Saint John the Baptist.

July 2: Commemoration of Sts. Processus and Martinianus, Martyrs: verso 155

July 3:

July 4:

July 5:

July 6: Octave of Sts. Peter and Paul.

July 7: Anniversary of All those Entombed in the Cemetery: verso 155

July 8:

July 9:

July 10: The Seven Brothers, Martyrs: recto 156 (1962 also Rufina & Secunda, Virgins and Martyrs).

July 11:

July 12:

July 13:

July 14: Awurk' kan i kulark'.

July 15:

July 16: August.

July 17: St. Alexianus, Confessor: recto 156 (Comm. Alexius in 1962).

July 18: The Sun is in Leo.

July 19:

July 20: St. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr: recto 156 (Comm. in 1962)

July 21: St. Praxia, Virgin and Martyr: recto 156 (Comm in 1962).

July 22: St. Mary Magdalen: verso 156- verso 157

July 23: St. Apollinares, Bishop and Martyr: recto 158

July 24: Commemoration of St. Christina, Virgin and Martyr: recto 158; Vigil.

July 25: St. James the Apostle: recto 158

July 26:

July 27: St. Martha, Virgin: verso 158-recto 159 (July 29 in 1962).

July 28: Sts. Nazarius, Celsus, and Panteleon, Martyrs: recto 160 (1962 adds Victor and Innocent, Popes; Panteleon is comm. on July 27).

July 29: Sts. Felix, Simplicius, Fapstinus (Faustinus 1962), & Beatrice, Martyrs: recto 160 (Comm in 1962)

July 30: Sts. Abdon and Semnen (Sennen 1962), Martyrs: recto 160 (Comm in 1962).

July 31: St. Jerome: verso 160 (trans. Germanos), Bishop. (St. Ignatius in 1962).

The Hours of the Night are 8 and of the Day 16.

Aug. has 31 Solar days; 30, Lunar:

Aug. 1: The Fettering of the Apostle Peter: verso 160 (Not in 1962).

Aug. 2: St. Stephan, Pope and Martyr: (Comm. in 1962).

Aug. 3: The Discovery of the Hosts by St. Stephan, the first Martyr. (Not in 1962).

Aug. 4:

Aug. 5: St Dominic, Confessor: recto/verso 161; verso 212- recto 213

Aug. 6: The Transfiguration of The Lord Jesus Christ: recto 162

Aug. 7: Commemoration of St. Donatus, Bishop and Martyr: verso 163

Aug. 8: Commemoration of St. Cyracus and Companions: recto 164 (1962 expands Largus & Smargdus).

Aug. 9: Vigil

Aug. 10: St. Lawrence, Martyr: recto/verso 164

Aug. 11: St. Tiburtius, Martyr: verso 164 (Comm. in 1962; adds Susanna, Virgin and Martyr).

Aug. 12: Octave of St. Dominic.

Aug. 13: Sts. Hippolytus and Companions, Martyrs: recto 165 (1962 expands St. Cassianus).

Aug. 14: September; Commemoration of St. Eusebius, Confessor: recto 165 (1962 adds Vigil).

Aug. 15: Assumption of Mary, Mother of God: recto 166- recto 167

Aug. 16:

Aug. 17: Octave of St. Lawrence.

Aug. 18: Commemoration of St. Agapitus, Martyr: verso 167; The Sun moves into Virgo.

Aug. 19:

Aug. 20: St. Bernard, Abbot: verso 167

Aug. 21:

Aug. 22: Octave of the Assumption; Commemoration of Sts. Timotheos and Symphorianus, Martyrs: verso 167 (1962 has Timothy and Companions.

Aug. 23: Vigil.

Aug. 24: St. Bartholomew, Apostle: recto 168

Aug. 25: St. Louis, King and Confessor: recto 168

Aug. 26:

Aug. 27: Commemoration of St. Rufimrius: recto 168 (Not in 1962).

Aug. 28: St. Augustine, Bishop and Doctor of the Church: verso 168

Aug. 29: The Beheading of St. John the Baptist: verso 169; Commemoration of St. Sabina, Virgin and Martyr: recto 170

Aug. 30: Commemoration of St. Felix & Lavdactus: verso 170 (Adauctus in 1962).

Aug. 31: Completion of the Seventh Embolism.

The Hours of the Night are 11 and of the Day 13.

Sept. has 30 Solar days; 30, Lunar:

Sept. 1: Commemoration of Aegidius, Abbot: recto 116; recto 171

Sept. 2: The beginning of the Second Embolism.

Sept. 3:

Sept. 4: Octave of St. Augustine: Commemoration of St. Marcellus, Pope and Martyr: recto 171 (Not in 1962). (See Jan. 16).

Sept. 5: The Anniversary of Friends and Intimates. (Kargis mer; of our Order).

Sept. 6:

Sept. 7:

Sept. 8: The Nativity of`Mary, the Mother of God: recto 171

Sept. 9: Commemoration of St. Gordanos: (Gorgonus, 1962), Martyr.

Sept. 10:

Sept. 11: Commemoration of Sts. Protus & Hyacinthus, Martyrs.

Sept. 12:

Sept. 13:

Sept. 14: October; The Exultation of the Holy Cross: verso 172; Commemoration of Sts. Cornelius & Cyprianus, Martyrs: verso 172 (Sept. 16, not comm. in 1962).

Sept. 15: Octave of the Nativity of Mary; Commemoration of St. Nicomedes, Martyr: recto 173

Sept. 16: St. Euphemia, Virgin & Martyr: recto 173 (1962 has comm. & adds Sts. Lucy and Geminianus).

Sept. 17: Commemoration of St. Lamperti, Bishop and Martyr: recto 173 (Not in 1962).

Sept. 18: The Sun enters Libra.

Sept. 19:

Sept. 20: Vigil.

Sept. 21: St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist: verso 173

Sept. 22: Sts. Mauritius and Companions, Martyrs: verso 173 (Comm. in 1962).

Sept. 23:

Sept. 24: St. Thecla, Virgin and Martyr: recto 174 (Sept. 23; comm. in 1962).

Sept. 25:

Sept. 26: Sts. Cyprianus & Justinian, Martyrs: recto 174 (Com. 1962).

Sept. 27: Sts. Cosmus and Damian, Martyrs: recto 174

Sept. 28: St. Werrzelayus (1962: Wenceslas), Martyr: recto 174

Sept. 29: St. Michael, the Archangel: recto 174- recto 176

Sept. 30: St. Gregory the Illuminator: recto 176, verso 213, & recto 227 (Not in 1962); St. Jerome, Priest: verso 176; Completion of the Second Embolism.

The Hours of the Night are 12 and of the Day 12.

Oct. has 31 Solar days; 29, Lunar:

Oct. 1: St. Remigius, Bishop and Confessor; (Comm. in 1962).

Oct. 2: Commemoration of Leftogar (Leutogar?), Bishop and Martyr: verso 176 (Not in 1962).

Oct. 3:

Oct. 4: St. Francis the Confessor: verso 176

Oct. 5: Rhipsime, Virgin and Martyr: recto 177 (Not in 1962).

Oct. 6: Octave of St. Michael the Archangel.

Oct. 7: St. Mark, Pope: recto 177 (Comm. in 1962). Commemoration of Sts. Sergius, Bacchus, Apuleus, & Marcellus, Martyrs: recto 177 (Oct. 8 in 1962).

Oct. 8:

Oct. 9: Sts. Dionysius, Bishop, & Companions, Martyrs. (1962 comm. expands with Sts. Rusticius and Eleutherius and these are found in text): recto/verso 177

Oct. 10: Anniversary of the Deceased Brothers of Our Order. (Not in 1962).

Oct. 11:

Oct. 12: Sts. Taracos, Probus, and Andronicus, Martyrs: verso 177 (Not in 1962).

Oct. 13: St. Edward, King & Confessor: verso 177

Oct. 14: Commemoration of St. Callistus, Pope & Martyr: verso 177 (Not comm. in 1962).

Oct. 15:

Oct. 16: November.

Oct. 17:

Oct. 18: St. Luke the Evangelist: verso 177; The Sun in Scorpio.

Oct. 19:

Oct. 20:

Oct. 21: The 11,000 Virgins: recto 178 (Comm. of St. Ursula and Companions in 1962); Commemoration of St. Hilarion, Abbot: recto 178

Oct. 22:

Oct. 23:

Oct. 24:

Oct. 25: Commemoration of Sts. Crispinus & Crispinianus, Martyrs: recto 178 (Not in 1962).

Oct. 26: St. Demetrius, Martyr.

Oct. 27: Vigil.

Oct. 28: Sts. Simon & Thatheus (Thadeus), Apostles: recto 178 (Sts. Simon & Jude in 1962).

Oct. 29:

Oct. 30:

Oct. 31: Commemoration of St. Gwinthinus, Martyr: verso 178 (Not in 1962).

The Hours of the Night are 14 and of the Day 10.

Nov. has 30 Solar days; 29, Lunar:

Nov. 1: Feast of All Saints: verso 178- recto 180; the Beginning of the Fifth Embolism.

Nov. 2: The Commemoration of All Believers, who Sleep in the Lord: verso 180- recto 181

Nov. 3:

Nov. 4:

Nov. 5:

Nov. 6: Commemoration of St. Leonard, the Confessor: verso 181 (Not in 1962).

Nov. 7:

Nov. 8: The Four Crowned Martyrs: verso 181 (Comm. in 1962).

Nov. 9: St. Theodor, Martyr: verso 181 (Comm. in 1962).

Nov. 10:

Nov. 11: St. Martin, Bishop and Confessor: verso 181- verso 182; Commemoration of St. Menna, Martyr: verso 182

Nov. 12:

Nov. 13: St. John Chrysostom, Doctor: recto 183 (Jan. 27- 1962); Commemoration of St. Priscus, Bishop and Confessor: recto 183 (Not in 1962).

Nov. 14: December.

Nov. 15:

Nov. 16:

Nov. 17: The Sun is in Sagittarius.

Nov. 18: Octave of St. Martin.

Nov. 19: Commemoration of St. Elizabeth, Widow: recto 183 (Not comm. in 1962).

Nov. 20:

Nov. 21: Presentation of Mary, Mother of God, Ever Virgin, in the Temple: recto/verso 183

Nov. 22: St. Caecilia, Virgin and Martyr: verso 183

Nov. 23: St. Clement, Pope and Martyr: recto 184

Nov. 24: Commemoration of St. Chrysogonus, Martyr: verso 184

Nov. 25: St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr: verso 184- verso 185

Nov. 26: St. Mercurius, Martyr: recto 186 (Not in 1962).

Nov. 27: Commemoration of Sts. Vitalis and Agricola, Martyrs: recto 186 (Nov.4 in 1962).

Nov. 28:

Nov. 29: Commemoration of St. Saturninus, Martyr: recto 186; Vigil.

Nov. 30: St. Andrew the Apostle: verso 122.

The Hours of the Night are 16 and of the Day 8.

Dec. has 31 Solar days; 30, Lunar:

Dec. 1: Completion of the Fifth Embolism.

Dec. 2: Beginning of the First Embolism.

Dec. 3:

Dec. 4:

Dec. 5:

Dec. 6: St. Nicolas, Bishop and Confessor: verso 123 & recto 214

Dec. 7: Octave of St. Andrew: verso 124

Dec. 8:

Dec. 9:

Dec. 10:

Dec. 11: Commemoration of St. Damasus, Pope and Confessor: verso 124 (Not comm. in 1962).

Dec. 12:

Dec. 13: St. Lucy, Virgin and Martyr: verso 124

Dec. 14: January.

Dec. 15: St. James, Mcbna (Mcl'na=MIxed), Bishop: verso 124 (Not in 1962); Solar Winter.

Dec. 16:

Dec. 17: Holy WIsdom (Not in 1962).

Dec. 18: The Sun enters Capricorn.

Dec. 19:

Dec. 20: Vigil.

Dec. 21: St. Thomas the Apostle: recto 125

Dec. 22:

Dec. 23:

Dec. 24: Vigil.

Dec. 25: The Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Dec. 26: St. Stephan, the First Martyr: recto 36 & verso 125

Dec. 27: St. John the Apostle and Evangelist: recto 126

Dec. 28: The Martyrdom of the Holy Innocents: verso 126

Dec. 29: St. Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr: recto 127 (Comm. in 1962).

Dec. 30:

Dec. 31: St. Silvester (Sel'bastros), Pope and Confessor: verso 35 & verso 127 (Comm. in 1962)

The Hours of the Night are 18 and of the Day 6.

III. The Sundays from Advent to Pentecost: recto 23- verso 122

IV. The Feasts of the Saints: recto 123- verso 184

V. The Communion of the Saints by category: Evangelists, Martyrs, Apostles, Confessors, Virgins, etc.: recto 187- recto 194

VI. The Blessed Virgin: recto 195- recto 209; recto 217- recto 225

VII. The Litany of the Saints, etc.: recto 210- verso 212

VIII. Colophon: recto/verso 216

IX. Miscellaneous Prayers: recto 225- recto 232

X. Calendrical Calculations: recto 233- recto 236

Scriptural Citations:

I. Old Testatment

Psalms

4: 1-10: recto/verso 43

21 (22): verso 71- recto/verso 72

22 (23): 1-6: recto 73

23 (24): 1-10: recto/verso 73

24 (25): recto/verso 74

25 (26): verso 74- recto 75

30: 1-8: verso 43

53 (54): recto 47

76: 17: recto 103

89: 3: recto 77

90: 1-16: recto 44

92 (93): 1-5: recto 75

109: verso 32; recto 57 (Ambrogio 156 &164)

110: verso 32- recto 33; verso 57 (Ambrogio recto 155)

111: recto/verso 33; recto 58 (Ambrogio recto 159 & recto 172)

112 (113): recto 28; verso 58

113: verso 58

114: recto 61

115: recto/verso 59; verso 61

116: recto 29; verso 61

118: 1-104; 118-176 (folios missing): verso 47- verso 56 (Ambrogio 150, 152-156, and 170)

119: verso 61- recto 62 (Ambrogio 57)

120: recto 62

121: verso 62

122: verso 62

123: recto 63

124: recto/verso 63

125: verso 63

126: verso 63- recto 64

127: recto 64

128: recto/verso 64

129 (130): recto 34; verso 64 (Ambrogio 57)

130 (131): verso 64- recto 65

131 (132): recto 34; recto/verso 65

132 (133): recto 66

133 (134): verso 44- recto 45

134 (135): 1-21: recto/verso 66

135 (136): verso66- recto 67

136 (137): recto/verso 67

137 (138): verso 67- recto 68

138 (139): recto/verso 68-recto 69 (Ambrogio 158)

139 (140): recto/verso 69

140 (141): verso 69- recto 70

141 (142) recto/verso 70

143 (144): 10-15: recto 40 (Ambrogio recto 166)

144 (145): 1-4: recto/verso 40

145: verso 28- recto/verso 29; recto 41

146: verso 29- recto 30; recto/verso 41 (Ambrogio 152-154 & recto 174)

147: recto/verso 30; recto/verso 42

Tobit: recto 116

Song of Songs: 4: 10-13: verso 165

II. New Testatment

Matthew 4: 18-22: verso 122

Matthew 28: 1-11: recto 94- verso 95

Luke 1: 26: verso 133

Luke 1: 30: verso 22; recto 139

Luke 2: 34: recto 134

Luke 16: 1-27: verso 118- recto 119

John 1: 42-43: recto 136

Acts 1: 3: verso 103

Acts 7: 55: verso 125

Rev. 14: 1: recto 127

Codex 347 **Breviarium armenicum *(arm. Maschdotz)***

A 14th or 15th century manuscript on paper. Conybeare only notes the many missing pages and the interlinear notes of Ambrogio. Most comments are my own.

This manuscript is hardly a Breviary in the ordinary sense or a Maschdotz; the Diurninum is closer to the latter although it is strictly a calendar of the prayers for the saints honored on their liturgical feast days. Codex 347 contains Gospel passages, Epistles and passages from the prophets and Wisdom. It is basically a book of scriptural readings for the Mass, a Lectionary.

Ambrogio's font is taken from this book's hand and most of the texts in the *Introductio...* come from this book, including the text of the `Hayr Mer,' but that prayer is also copied twice on the empty pages of Codex 346. (Strohmeyer, 1995a)

As in Ambrogio's other manuscripts, he divides the words with a stroke and glosses the words with superscripted Latin. The scribe's orthography of the Evangelists' names is quite variable: Matthew and Luke appear in at least three different spellings in chapter headings.

An Appendix to the Description of Codex 347:

The Contents of Codex 347 'Breviarium armenicum.' (Most properly a 'Lectionary' Ճաշոց)

Note that the book is identified as a Մաշտոց but that is the name for the Armenian 'Ritual,' which this book plainly is not; things are further obscured by the claim that the book is a 'Breviary' or a Ժամագիրք, but this is even further from the actual identity. This Codex represents a much damaged 'Lectionary and the identification should be changed in the manuscript catalogue.

The following list is an attempt to delineate the New Testament and Old Testament texts found in this 14th century Kaffa paper manuscript. We will note any missing pages when possible. The edition used is from a microfilm and the references are to folios, which will be designated recto and verso. The identification of the biblical author comes mainly from the text or from Latin glosses made by Ambrogio. Many passages were very well known and could be identified easily, while others were less so or were part of passages missing folios in the text.

Matthew 19, 29-30	Folio 1
Matthew 27, 3-48	Folio 1-5r
Luke 23, 32-49	Folio 5v-7r
John 19, 25-41	Folio 7-8v
John 1, 43-51	Folio 9r-10r; see also Folio 50-51r
John 1, 35-42	Folio 10r-10v
Luke 11, 26-28	Folio 11r
Matthew 5, 17-20	Folio 11r
Luke 21, 34-38	Folio 11v-12r
Mark 6, 15-22	Folio 12v-13v (Herod and John the Baptist)

Luke 1, 41-44	Folio 14
John 5,19-30	Folio 15-16r
Luke 9, 1-6	Folio 16v
John 10, 11-16	Folio 17r-17v
John 9, 39-41;10, 1-10	Folio 17v-18v
Matthew 28, 57-61	Folio 19r
Luke 10, 1-3	Folio 19v
Mark 13, 32-37	Folio 20r
Luke 7, 11-14	Folio 20v (Text broken off and folio lost)
Matthew 1, 21-23	Folio 21r (Text starts in mid sentence)
Matthew 2, 13-14	Folio 21v (Text repeated Folio 24rv)
Luke 2, 1-7	Folio 21v-22r
Luke 10, 16-20	Folio 22v
Matthew 2, 1-23	Folio 23-25
Luke 2, 22-40	Folio 26-27v
Matthew 6, 22-24	Folio 27v (verse unfinshed and folio lost)
Matthew 25, 34-46	Folio 28r-28v (begins in the midst of a word)
John 19, 12-17	Folio 28v
John 16, 33; 17, 1-9	Folio 29
Luke 15, 1-10	Folio 30 (The Lost Sheep)

Luke 21, 10-19	Folio 31
Matthew 5, 1-12	Folio 32
Matthew 10, 16-22	Folio 33r (The Wolves among the Sheep)
Acts 2, 42-47; 3, 1-21	Folio 33v-36v (Identified as Luke but corrected in another hand as Acts in margin)
John 11, 55-56; 12, 1-11	Folio 37 (Lazarus' Feast)
John 11, 1-46	Folio 38-42r (Lazarus)
Matthew 11, 25-29	Folio 42v (43 is torn out)
Luke 24, 20-35	Folio 44r-45r (begins in the midst)
Luke 24, 36-40	Folio 45v
John 21, 1-25	Folio 46r-47r
John 2, 12-22	Folio 47v-48 (The Cleansing of the Temple)
Matthew 21, 12-17	Folio 48v-49r (Cleansing of the Temple)
John 16, 23-28	Folio 49v
John 20, 19-25	Folio 50
Matthew 22, 44-46	Folio 51r
John 1, 43-51	Folio 51v-52r; see also Folio 9r-10r
Luke 6, 20-23	Folio 52v (Page missing)
Luke 9, 24-27	Folio 53r
Luke 9, 44-48	Folio 53r-53v
John 1, 1-18	Folio 54 (John the Baptist)

Luke 12, 2-7	Folio 55 (Page missing)
John 5, 38-47	Folio 56
Luke 7, 2-8	Folio 57 (Page missing)
Matthew 13, 51-52	Folio 58r (Starts mid-sentence)
Matthew 20, 29-34; 21, 1-11	Folio 58-59
Matthew 28, 1-20	Folio 60-61
Luke 24, 41-53	Folio 62-63r
John 14, 15-25	Folio 63-64r
Luke 12, 2-8	Folio 64-65r
Luke 1, 57-67	Folio 65-66r
Luke 13, 33-35	Folio 66v
Matthew 10. 1-9	Folio 67-68r
Matthew 5, 13-16	Folio 68
Matthew 16, 13-20	Folio 68v-69r
Matthew 17, 1-13	Folio 69v-70
John 3, 13-21	Folio 70v-71
Luke 1, 26-38	Folio 72-73r
Matthew 3, 1-15	Folio 73-74 (Ends mid-sentence; page missing)
Matthew 1, 7-17	Folio 75 (Ends mid-sentence; page missing)

John 8, 57-59	Folio 76r (Begins mid-verse)
Matthew 9, 18-26	Folio 76
Mark 2, 1-12	Folio 77-78r
Luke 23, 50-53	Folio 78v
John 19, 39; 20, 1-18	Folio 78v-81r
Luke 5, 12-16	Folio 81v-82r
John 4, 43-50	Folio 82 (Ends mid-sentence; page missing)
Luke 12, 36-40	Folio 83r (Begins mid-verse)
John 20, 26-31	Folio 83v (Doubting Thomas)
Matthew 9, 36; 10, 1-9	Folio 84-85r
Matthew 24, 30-35	Folio 85-86r
Matthew 23, 1-12	Folio 86
John15, 12-16	Folio 87
John16, 20-25	Folio 87v-88r
Luke 10, 21-24	Folio 88v (89 is torn out)
Mark 3, 14-19	Folio 90r (Begins mid-verse)
Matthew 6, 22-34; 7, 1-27	Folio 90v-94r
Matthew 6, 1-21	Folio 94v-97r (Pater Noster)
Luke 4, 43-45; 5, 1-11	Folio 97-98

Matthew 5, 17-48	Folio 99-102
Luke 6, 7-48	Folio102v-106 (Ends mid-sentence;a page is missing)
Luke 15, 8-32	Folio 107-109r (Heaven rejoices in the return of one sinner...The Prodigal)
Luke 12, 32-48	Folio 109-111r
Luke 16, 1-27	Folio 111-113v (Lazarus and Dives; ends mid-verse; page missimg)
Mark 13, 6-27	Folio 114-115 (Ends mid-verse; page missing)
Luke 21, 5-38	Folio 116-118 (Ends mid-verse; page missing)
Matthew 23, 4-12	Folio 119
Paul: 1 Timothy 3, 14-16	Folio 119v
John 10, 22-34	Folio 120 (Ends mid-verse; page missing)
2 Samuel 5, 1-10	Folio 121-122r (Begins mid-verse)
Proverbs 8, 4-8	Folio 122
Isaiah 4, 2-6	Folio 122v
Isaiah 45, 17-19	Folio 123
Malachai 4, 5-6	Folio 123v
Isaiah 40, 3-8	Folio 124r
Isaiah 6, 1-7	Folio 124v-125r
Isaiah 60, 20-22	Folio 125r

Ezekiel 3, 17-21	Folio 125v-126r
Proverbs 11, 2-11	Folio 126-127r
Isaiah 41, 13-20	Folio 127
Hosea 14, 6	Folio 127v (Identified as Isaiah; ends mid-verse; 2 pages missing)
Isaiah 42, 7	Folio 128r (Fragment of text)
Hosea 14, 3-4	Folio 128r Identified as Isaiah
Isaiah 54, 1-11	Folio 128-129r
Isaiah 61, 3-6	Folio 129
Ezekiel 9, 11; 10, 1-2	Folio 129v-130r
Isaiah 41, 1-3	Folio 130
Isaiah 66, 5-8	Folio 130v (Ends mid-verse; three pages torn out)
Jeremiah 16, 16-21	Folio 131 (Begins mid-verse)
Malachai 2, 5-7	Folio 131v
Isaiah 33, 20-22	Folio 132
Zachariah 2, 10-13	Folio 132v
Malachai 3	Folio 132v (A fragment; another page torn out)
Ezekiel 47, 4-13	Folio 133 (Another page missing)
Isaiah 58, 2-5	Folio 134 (Begins mid-verse)
Luke 2, 8-11	Folio 134v (Ends mid-verse; another page missing)

Paul: Hebrews 1, 3-12	Folio 135 (Begins mid-verse)
Paul: Romans 1, 1-12	Folio 136
Paul: Hebrews 6, 9-11	Folio 136v (Ends mid-verse; page missing)
Paul: 2 Corinthians 4, 1-7	Folio 137
Paul: Romans 16, 24-27	Folio 137v
Paul: Galatians 5, 22-26	Folio 137
22-27	
Paul: Ephesians 3, 13-21	Folio 138
Paul Hebrews 2, 11-13	Folio 138v (Ends mid-verse; page missing)
1 John 1, 9-10; 2, 1-2	Folio 139r (Begins mid-verse)
1 John 3, 2-9	Folio 139
Paul: 1 Corinthians 12, 26-31; 13, 1-10	Folio 140
Proverbs 10, 22-?	Folio 141 (Identified as Wisdom. The first verse follows Proverbs, but subsequent verses are very far from the Zohrabian text)
Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 24, 23-30 (Vulgate)	Folio 141v-142r Identified as Wisdom. (Four verses found in the Vulgate are not in the Zohrabian Armenian and this text seems to follow the Vulgate although in a tradition separate from the Oskanean Bible of 1666)

Proverbs 2, 1-12	Folio 142-143r
2 Peter 3, 8-15	Folio 143
Paul: Hebrews 2, 14-18	Folio 144r
Wisdom 2, 23-25; 3, 1-7	Folio 144v-145 (No identifying title)
Wisdom 1, 1-7	Folio 145 (Identified as Proverbs)
Acts 12, 1-2	Folio 145v (Ends mid-verse; a page is missing)
James 3, 5-14	Folio 146 (The dangers of the tongue; begins mid-verse)
Paul: 1 Corinthians 15, 12-15	Folio 146v (Ends mid-verse; two pages are missing)
Paul: 1 Corinthians 12, 2-8	Folio 147r (Begins mid-verse)
Paul: Hebrews 11, 32-40	Folio 147-148r
Paul: Ephesians 4, 17-31	Folio 148-149r
Paul: Titus 2, 11-15	Folio 149
Paul: Galatians 3, 24-29	Folio 149v (Ends mid-verse; a page is missing)
Matthew 26, 19-30	Folio 150 (Ends mid-verse; a page is missing)
Paul: Hebrews 13, 10-16	Folio 151 (Begins mid-verse)
Wisdom 7, 21-25	Folio 151v (Identified as Proverbs)
Proverbs 3, 19-26	Folio 152
Paul: 2 Timothy 2, 3-7	Folio 152v
1 Peter2, 1-3	Folio 152

Ecclesiastes 11, 9-10;
12, 1-3 Folio 153 (Identified as Proverbs)

2 Peter 1, 16-19 Folio 153v (Ends mid-verse; pages are missing)

The Chalcedonian Psalter?:

The following is a complete list of the Armenian citations from the Psalms found in Ambrogio's *Introductio....* More detailed comments on these texts will be found in Chapter V in the general description of the linguistic and philosophical issues raised by Ambrogio's quoted Armenian material. Texts found within paretheses are variant readings from the Zohrabian edition of the Armenian text of the Psalms unless they are marked 'corrected'; these are emendations from Ambrogio's last three pages. The Psalms are listed according to their Vulgate-Septuagint numbering and general or uncertain passages are given first:

This passage raises the meaning of Hebrew 'Selah' and its Greek equivalent 'Diapsalma' which he gives in Armenian transliteration **դիափսաղմա** 'Diaphsaglma' although it is not found in the Armenian texts of the Psalms. It is, however, found in Habakkuk 3, 3, 9 & 14 in the Zohrabian text or the Apparatus as **Հանգիստ**, which is the normal rendering of 'Selah' in the Armenian Biblical commentaries. Recto 149.

Թագաւորն խաղաղարար մեծագործեաց. 'Thagauorn hhaglaglarar mezzagorzzeazt.' (MS 346 folio verso 28 Gradual) This is possibly from the Psalms, but the text is not identified; it certainly is a liturgical commonplace. Ambrogio has included it as a coda to the paragraph for more theological and hieratic than grammatical reasons. Verso 154

I have found no source for this quotation: **ծանեար/ծանեաւ ապա Հայր.** 'Tzanear (emended to 'Tzaneau.') apa hayr.' Note that in the last three Ambrogio has collected the singular aorist conjugation of this verb. Verso 158

Psalm 21 (22), 1: **Աստուծ (Աստուած) Աստուծ (Աստուած) իմ նաեաց առ իս ընդեր (ընդէր) թողեր զիս** 'Astuz Astuz im naieaz arh is iendier tholier zis.' Verso 38

Psalm 21 (22), 18: **ծակեցին զձեռս իմ զոստ (զոտս).** 'Tzacezzin ziserhs im eu zost (an error for 'zots')' Recto 159

Psalm 21 (22), 67: '**ժողովքդոց** Zoglouchdozt' The Armenian is a misreading: 'kh' is read for an 'r': 'žołovrdoc'.' Recto 155-Recto 156

Psalm 21: **Լսելի լիցի ի լոյս.** 'Lseli lizzi i lois.' **և լեզու իմ.** 'eu lezu im' Recto 157:

Psalm 28 (29), 3: **ձայն տեառն.** Xain tearn. Note that Ambrogio's rendering of the letter suggests that he heard no voicing. Verso 162

Psalm 90 (91), 1: **օգնութաի. (յօգնութեան.)** Ωgnuthai. Verso 175

Psalm 105 (106), 30: **փենեհեզ.** Phenehez. This form is from Philo (MS 178); Ambrogio notes that the Psalms have **Փենեես (Փենեէս)** This opens up into a comparative analysis of this name in Greek (Phinees; the same as canonical Armenian above), Hebrew (Pinchas), and Syriac (Phinhhes). Recto 171

Psalm 109 (110), 2 & 3: **ծնաւ (ծնայ) զքեզ.** Xnau Zchez. **առաքեսցե (առաքեսցէ) քեզ** Ahracheszte chez.Verso 176

Psalm 109 (110), 4: **ըստ կարգին մելքիսեդեկի.** Iest cargin melchisedeci. Recto 164:

Psalm 109(110): **քեզ տր~ ի սիոնէ.** 'chez tear (Tær) i sione (Sionæ).' Recto 155-Recto 156

Psalm 110 (111):1-2: **ուղղոց ի ժողովս.** 'Yglglozt i goglous.' MS 346 folio recto 58. The received text is **ուղղոց ի ժողովուրդս.** 'ułłoc' i žołovurds.' Recto 155-Recto 156

Psalm 111 (112), 4, : **ծագեաց** 'Tzageazt.' Recto 159

Psalm 111 (112), 5: **քաղց (**Corrected **քաղցր) այր ողորմի.** Chaglzzr air oglormi. Recto 172

Psalm 111 (112): **ի համբաւէ չարէ նա մի երկիցէ (երկիցէ).** 'i hambauæ zaræ na mi ercizte (erkic'æ).' Recto 155-Recto 156

Psalm 118 (although Ambrogio constantly refers to this psalm as 119, it is actually listed as 118 in Armenian Bible and the Vulgate and 119 in the King James Version) (MS 346 folio recto 56): 163: ' **զմեղս ատեցի և անարգեցի և զօրէնս քո սիրեցի:** zmegls atezti eu anargezti eu zôrens (zauræns) cho sirezti.' Recto 150

Psalm 118 (Ambrogio identifies this as 119) (MS 346 folio verso 53):: 88: **ըստ ողորմութե~ (ողորմութեան) քում կեցո զիս** 'iest oglormuthene (-thean) chum cezto zis.' Verso 152-Recto 154

Psalm 118 (see above) (MS 346 folio recto 56): 164: **ինանիր (ի նանիր), այլ (և) ի բանից կոց (քոց).** 'inanir (a misreading for 'i nanir'), ail (ew) i baizt (should have read 'banizt') chozt ([khoc] is a correction of the incorrect Armenian text 'cozt').' Recto 155-Recto 156

Psalm 118, 13 (MS 346 folio verso 47): **շրթամբք իմովք.** Sarthambch imΩch. Recto 166

Psalm 118 (see above): **ընբոն** 'inbon (read 'iembon)' The word is not found in the psalm text of the Zohrabian Bible nor in 346 although the full psalm is lacking due to a missing folio. Ambrogio thinks that this word is synonymous with **նման.** However, this word must be a misreading or a miscopied form. Verso 152-Recto 154

Psalm 118, 78 (MS 346 folio verso 52): **և (զի** Zohrabian/MS 346**) աւրենք քո խաւսք իմ եին.** Euaurench cho hhausch im ein. Verso 151.

Psalm 118 : **եթէ ոչ օրենք քո.** Ethae oz ôrench cho. **մեղս.** megls. Verso 151.

Psalm 118 (119), 141 (MS 346 folio verso 55): **տանուկ (Մանուկ) եմ ես.** Tanuc em es. (he has misread the word for 'child/small') Recto 170

Psalm 118 verses 48, 73, 109, and 173: **ձեռն.** Xern, Manus. Verso 162

Psalm 118, 68 & 102 (MS 346 folio recto 52; verso 53): **և յ քաղցրութաբ քով.** eu i caglzzuthab chΩ. (ew i k'ghc'ruthamb k'ov) **քաւլցոր. (քաղցր)** Chaglzzor. **քաղցրութաի. (քաղցրութիւն)** Chaglzzruthai. Verso 175.

Psalm 119, 6 (120) is cited for its use of the word **կեդարու** 'ciedaru.' Recto 57.

Psalm 129 (130), 1: **ի խորոց կարդացի առ քեզ տեար (Տէր).** 'i hhorozt cardazti arh chez tear (Tær).'; **ի պահէ առաւաւտու (առաւօտու).** 'i pahæ arauautu.' Recto 155-Recto 156

Psalm 129, 7: **իլէ~լ ի տեար (Տէր):** 'Israel (Israyæl) i tear (Tær).' Verso 156

Psalm 131 (132 in the King James): **ԱՀա լուաք զնմանէ (զնամանէ) յեփրաթա (յեփրաթա).** 'Aha luach znmane (znamanæ) i ephratha (yEphratha).' Verso 149

Psalm 131 (132), 11 & 18: **յաւծելո (յօծելոյ) քումմէ.** Iauxelo chummae. **օծելո իմո (օծելոյ իմոյ).** oxelo imo. Verso 173

Psalm 131 (132), 17: **զճրագ օծելոյ իմո.** zirag Ωtzeloi imo. Recto 164

Psalm 131 (132): **ԱՀա լուաք զընմանէ յեփրաթա** 'Ahha luach zienmane iiephratha.' Verso 71

Psalm 134 (135), 9 & 135 (136), 15: **ֆարաւովն. (Փարաւոն.)** PharauΩn. **ֆարաւովն. (Փարաւոն.)** Pharaon. **զֆարաոն (զՓարաւոն) և զօրսիւր (զզօրս իւր) ի ծով կարմիր.** Zpharaon eu zorsiur i tzou carmir. Verso 172:

Psalm 135 (136), 5 & 147 (148), 4: **ջուք. (**corrected **ջուրք.)** zurch. Recto 168

Psalm 135 (136), 15: **ընկղմեաց զփարաւն (զփարաւովն) և զզօրս իւր ի ծով կարմիր.** iencglmeazt zpharauon eu zzors iur i tzou carmir. See Folio verso 172. Verso 152-Recto 154

Psalm 135 (136), : **ընդ մեջ (ի միջոյ) նորա.** iend mesch nora. Verso 152-Recto 154

Psalm 137 (138),1: Առ գետս բաբելացոց 'Arh giets babielazoz' The Armenian is a variant as the Zohrabian text reads Բաբելացւոց Babelac'woc'. Verso 51

Psalm 138 (139), 1, 2 & 5: ծանեար 'Tzanear.' Verso 158

Psalm 139 (140), 7: աղոթից իմոց. Aglothizt imozt. Recto 176

Psalm 139 (140), 12: ծանեա (ծանեայ) ցի (զի) առնես տր` (Տէր). 'Tzanea zi (misspelled in Armenian) arhnes tear.' Verso 158

Psalm 140 (141), 4: բանիւ չարութենե. (չարութեան) Baniu Zaruthene. Verso 175

Psalm 140(141): ընդ մարդս որ գործեն զանաւրենութաի. (զանաւրէնութիւն) 'iend mards or gortzen zanaurenuthai (zanawrænuthiwn).' Verso 152-Recto 154

Psalm 140, 4: Պատճառել զպատճառս մեղաց. 'Patgarhel zpatgarhs meglazt.' Recto 157

Psalm 143, 13: շտեմարանք նոցա լի են. Stemaranch nozza li en. Recto 166

Psalm 144 (145): և կանգնե (կանգնէ) զա[inverted]~ (զամենայն) գլոըեայո. (գլորեալս) 'eu cangne (kangnæ) zamenezto (zamenayn) gloieaio (this should be read 'gloreals' but the Armenian reading seems to be very corrupt and ends up as nonsense with a

schwa, for 'r,' written between 'o' and 'e' and the final 'l' set as a 'y.') Verso 152-Recto 154

Psalm 145 (146), 5: **օգ՛նական.** Ωgnacan. Verso 175

Psalm 145 (146), 7: **տա (տայ) հաց .քաղցելոս (.քաղցելոց) և արձակե (արձակէ) զկապեալս տեար (Տէր).** Ta hazt caglztelos eu arxace zcapeals tear. Verso 169

Psalm 145 (146), 10: **թագաւորեսցե (թագաւորեսցէ) տր~ յտ~ն.** Thagauoreszt (the transcription is missing the final 'e'; however, the received text is 'thagavoresc'æ tear (Tær) iauitean.' Verso 154

Psalm 146,2: **շի՛նէ զեմ~ տր~.** Sinae Zieruslem tear. Recto 166:

Psalm 146 (147), 2 & 8: **օր.ք՛նութաի. (օրհնութիւն.)** Ωrchnuthai. **օր.ք՛նութբ, (օրհնութեամբ.)** Ωrchnutaib. Recto 174

Psalm 146, 6: **ը՛նդունի զհեզս տր~.** 'ienduni zhezs tear (tær).' Verso 152-Recto 154

Part V: Conclusion:

There is a common thread of careful scholarship and infinite patience displayed throughout Ambrogio's life, his production of his one book in two trying editions and his glossings and readings of his manuscripts. This was an extraordinary scholar, whose passion was getting it right, and he was not to be deterred from his goal by any act of man or God.

Part VI: Appendix to Chapter I: A Description of the Reset Folios (61-92) & (178-180) of Teseo Ambrogio's *Introductio...* Now in the Matenadaran

Incunables cannot be treated as we do more recently printed books. From the 17th century until today, printing meant invariability; however, in the early days of printing, the text was more often treated as manuscripts had been for ages: frequent variation in printed examples is more the norm than the oddity. I have learned a great deal from Mr. Smitskamp, the famed antiquarian bookseller, whose catalogues are a rich mine of information on orientalistic incunables. It was his sale of a copy of Ambrogio with the reset folios from 61-92, but without the resetting of folios 178-180, that caused me to do a more thorough examination of the Matenadaran's copy of Ambrogio's *Introductio...*

In the Matenadaran's copy of Ambrogio's *Introductio...* (#1062), the differences from the Newberry's copy are many and quite puzzling. Many pages are reset and corrections made to the Latin text. At the same time the number of mistakes and omissions that have crept into the materials quoted in the examples from Oriental tongues has grown far beyond the emendations printed at the end of the book.

The Matenadaran's copy is an anonymous gift from Italy made in 1990. The copy used for comparison is the Newberry example of the book, which has been compared and annotated using the copies found in Pavia (Ambrogio's native city) and in the Mechitarian's library on San Lazzaro in Venice. None of these display the peculiarities of the Matenadaran's example and my quick glance through the Hungarian National Library's copy and Secret's notes on the Paris copy suggest that they too are without these features.

When I originally wrote about the example #1062, I was interested in the Oriental exempla only and I paid very little attention to the Latin textual variants; because the Oriental materials displayed great variations from the other copies and most of these were errors (often errors contained in the emendations but not limited to these), I opined that the interleaved folios represented an earlier and perhaps unpublished version of the *Introductio...,* whose remainders were used after Ambrogio's death to complete further

copies of the book. (This of course assumes that some unidentified damage had occurred to some of the stock of prepared printed pages.)

This scenario has been criticised by Smitskamp in his notes on the *Introductio...* for sale (Smitskamp, 1997). He suggests that the damaged folios were reprinted without Ambrogio's advice and supervision and that it is difficult to even guess the reasons for the change in font size, paper stock or page format. These changes certainly added no value to the books so completed:

> An uncommon feature of our copy is the presence of a completely reset part of the text, folios 61-92, in a size smaller than the main work: text area including catch words 151 x 95 mm as against 172 x 108 mm. Since the textual differences between the two versions, other than recomposing mistakes to be expected, which in the Syriac however are not corrected, give no clue to the reason behind this, we must assume that probably after Ambrogio' death in 1540 the printer Simoneta had eight quires recomposed to make up for defective stock. Where the paper of the main work has watermarks of an anchor and a hat (similar to Briquet 496 and 3439), the new quires are printed on paper featuring an ox-head Briquet 1409ff., very common). (Smitskamp, 1997)

In the following pages, I will give a detailed description of the variants found in the Matenadaran's #1062. The differences that I have recorded, now make me believe that Smitskamp's scenario for the resetting and printing of the missing folios is far more likely than my earlier speculation of a first edition that was so marked by errors that Ambrodio insisted on redoing the entire printing. The Latin in folios 61-92 often incorporates the emendations, which suggests a later origin, and the many errors in the Oriental languages can be explained by the death of Ambrogio, robbing Simoneta, the printer, of his only trained proof-reader.

Besides the errors found within the reset pages (folios 61-92), #1062 also has reset pages within the commonly printed part of the text, folios 178-180. These pages frame the illustration of the phagotus on 178v and 179r; there are extensive rewordings of the text and it would be interesting to compare a wider sample of the book to discover if there were two or more varieties of these particular folios that recount differing details of

Ambrogio's education and family. The purpose for the rewording as shown below is the excision of the name (and identity) of one of Ambrogio's patrons, Andrea Calvus of Milan. However, Mr. Smitskamp suggests that the excision of his name may have been due to the incorrect sizing of the page:

> Did it strike you also that the printed area of the illustrated pages is quite wider than usual (130 mm against 115 mm), and that in closely shaved copies like the one catalogued by me, the text is easily cut into? Is possibly the text in the Matenadaran copy less widely set after the printer discovered the error when the sheets were already printed? The author in consequence had to skip some text in a corrected sheet in order to catch up with the following pages already printed, and decided to be less specific about certain persons. Whatever the reason, I think we have here a phenomenon unrelated to the recomposed folios 61-92. (Smitskamp, private communication)

Both copies show common errors that could have been corrected in a new edition: Folio 27 is incorrectly designated folio 47 and folio 214, 114.

I. Folios 61-92:

The changes in font size, page format and paper stock have been described in Smitskamp (1997); however, the many other variants from the pages common to both need a detailed accounting.

Of the three and one half pages of emendations, folios 214 (printed 114) and 215, the errors found on folios 61-92 take up two-thirds of 214v. This is a rather large proportion of the mistakes in the entire book.

In the reset portion extensive miscollations are present; these folios are in the following order: 65r, 67v, 68r, 66v, 67r, 65v, 66r, 68v, 69r, 69v has the heading printed as a mirror image, and folio 71r is paginated 68.

It should also be noted that the entire copy (#1062) lacks all hand written alphabets.

Folio 61: The emendations to the Latin have been set into the text. On 61v, the hand written insert of the Dalmatian letter is missing.

Folio 62: The Latin is corrected. The three Dalmatian examples are also missing.

Folio 63: There is no significant difference.

Folio 64: The Latin has been corrected; however, the Syriac has undergone a terrible change. In the Syriac phrases quoted, by resetting the page, the first part of the two sentences have been placed at the end of their phrases, while the transliteration continues to record the correct order; in short, these pages would more confuse than help a learner.

Folio 65: The Syriac on the recto is correct; however, the verso is quite a mess. Again the beginning phrases appear as the last portion of the reset lines. The Latin corrections have not been made.

Folio 66: Recto, the lines of Syriac and Arabic are scrambled as above although the equally complex Hebrew lines are reset correctly. The Latin is not corrected nor are the transliterations. Verso, the three Coptic letters are not written in.

Folio 67: The Latin is not corrected and the one Coptic letter is missing.

Folio 68: Recto, the Dalmatian letter is not written in. Verso, the Hebrew clearly written 'aniot' appears as 'anior' in the transliteration. It is written 'aniot' in the Newberry's copy. The Syriac has been reordered as above.

Folio 69: The Latin corrections are included. The Dalmatian letter is not written in.

Folio 70: All is well on this folio.

Folio 71(written 68): Recto, the Gimel, Beth, and Pe in the Hebrew are set up-side-down; it is correctly set in the Newberry. Verso, the transliterated material is not corrected and 'Baphrato' is a mistake for earlier 'Baphratho.' The capital p's on the page of #1062 are all in bold and the link word 'vim:' is incorrectly punctuated with a colon.

Folio 72: Recto, the Dalmatian letter is missing. Verso, neither the Hebrew nor the Syriac transliterations are corrected; the Arabic text in Syriac letters is beheaded and the head attached to the caudal joint, and the Hebrew is set without great notice to proper word divisions. All of this is in contrast to the Newberry.

Folio 73: Recto, the Macedonian 'Alleluia' is missing. Verso, the Dalmatian letters are missing.

Folio 74: Recto, the Dalmatian letters are missing. Verso, neither the corrected Hebrew or the 'incorrect' transliteration is used on the page. The Arabic, Coptic, Macedonian, and Dalmatian examples are missing. The correction of the name of the Dalmatian letter is ignored.

Folio 75: Recto, the Armenian letter's name is incorrectly printed 'B.e.' The Latin is not corrected and what is even more surprising, #1062 is missing the 'Gomal' as noted in the emendations, while the Newberry's page is corrected! The Coptic, Jacobite, Samaritan, Macedonian, Dalmatian and Ethiopic letters are missing. Verso, the Arabic is missing and the printer has also left a blank where the Newberry's has a Greek phrase.

Folio 76: Recto, the Arabic is missing. The Latin is not corrected. Verso, the Latin is not corrected and the Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic, Dalmatian, and Macedonian letters are missing.

Folio 77: Recto, the alphabetical exempla have not been written in. Verso, alphabetical exempla again missing.

Folio 78: Recto, the Syriac has lost its initial word and had an unrecognizable word added to the end so that the transliteration is useless. Verso, the Latin has not been corrected.

Folio 79: Recto, the Arabic is missing, and the Latin has not been corrected: there is even a typo where there should be an uncorrected form, 'significat' for the others' 'significant,' which has been emended to 'significent.' Verso, the Greek form has been printed without an initial sigma in #1062.

Folio 80: Recto, the Latin is uncorrected. Verso, the Hebrew vowel pointings are not written in,

Folio 81: Recto, the Hebrew pointing is missing. Verso, the Latin is not corrected.

Folio 82: Recto, #1062 has a typo 'Irhhak' for 'Ishhak.' There is also some minor change in the punctuation. Verso, no changes to text.

Folio 83: Recto, the Arabic letters are missing and the Latin is uncorrected. Verso, no great change.

Folio 84: Recto, no noticeable changes. Verso, no Arabic letters or phrases.

Folio 85: Recto, no Arabic letters or phrases. One of the two Latin mistakes is corrected. Verso, Arabic words are missing.

Folio 86: Recto, the Hebrew has a 'Vav' where the transliteration and the Newberry's has a 'Yod.' Verso, #1062 has a 'Daleth' where it should have a 'Coph.'

Folio 87: Recto, no changes in text. Verso, the Hebrew letters are not written in.

Folio 88: Recto, no changes in text. Verso, the Arabic letters are missing.

Folio 89: Recto, no changes in text. Verso, no changes in text.

Folio 90: Recto, no changes in the text. Verso, the transliteration is not corrected. The setting of the Syriac is ragged and often unconnected.

Folio 91: Recto, the Syriac letters and words are often misset. Verso, The same missetting is seen.

Folio 92: Recto, the Syriac has many unsightly spaces. Verso, the same ragged look to the Syriac.

Clearly, none of this is an improvement over the older printings of the book. Although the typesetters understood the right-to-left direction of the Hebrew, they show no similar understanding of the Syriac or Arabic written in Syriac: Ambrogio would never have allowed his beloved Syriac to have undergone such a hashing; therefore, he must not have been alive when these exempla were printed.

II. Folios 178-180:

a. The Newberry copy of Ambrogio's *Introductio...:*

178r [beginning of last sentence] Non propterea Ottomarum [link -rum carried to next page]

178v [the text frames the illustration of front of the Phagotus] -rum Luscinium Argentinum, quam musurgiam edidit, & ut ex epistola [Smit. in] fronte opis [Smit, operis] impressa clare patet, Andreae Calvo Mediolanensi dicavit, omnino taxavi, quod in illa instrumentum hoc [a small figure of a fist with a pointing index finger follows the 'hoc' and

points to the plate of the Phagotus] non apposuerit, Cuius exemplum atque simulacrum a calchographo nostro impressum una cum prima praesentis introductorii libelli nostri parte (in quod dicti instrumenti descriptio satis abunde continetur.) Cum Bernardino meratae Me-

179r [the text frames the illustration of the back of the Phagotus] -diolanensi procuratori, seu Bibliopolae, qui locupletissimae Andreae Calvi librariae apothecae, in Ticinensi Urbe curam gerit, in Basileam Germaniae (pro ut dixerat) praefecturo, & enixe, ut Germanis calchographis ostenderet, efflagitanti, tradidissem, ut postmodum in patriam rediens secum reportaret, & mihi optima fide restitueret. Nescio qua ratione, quo ve [quove?/Smits. quove] astu Calvi procurator sive Calvus ipse mihi imposuit. Ber-

179v -nardinus quippe brevi Papiam e Mediolano reversus, Calvo domino opus videndum tradidisse, & in Germaniam properanti consignasse retulit....Cum vero postmodum audivissem Calvum e Germania reversum, ad quartum idus mensis Septembris Mediolanum pergo, & in domum Calvum visito. Rogo praeterea ut librum meum restituat. Negotiorum se gestori suo Bibelio Germano, ex Basilea Frankfordium dixit deferendum dedisse, referendumque ac restituendum postea... [last sentence] Et ut antiquos in prae-[link: sentia]

180r -sentia ommittam, antiquorumque; monumenta praeteream... [last sentence] Quantum tribus aliis Curtiis, & Stephano Ottono, & Andreae Bassignanae, praeceptoribus meis innocentissimis, Mangiariis, Folpertis, Iacobo Gualae, Gambaranae, [link: & viventi]

180v & viventi adhuc apud nos, & idem Ius fideliter Interpretanti, Boscho debeat, scripta per eum volumina manifestent... [last sentence] Nec in ea Caesarei Pontificiique; Iuris parte, quae in actione versatur, Ioannem Petrum Ferrarium, a me praetereundum [link: censuerim,]

b. The Matenadaran's #1062: This text varies wildly in its use of common abbreviations. I will not note these, as their use in both texts is largely motivated for reasons of line and page justification.

The 178r appears quite the same as the page in the Newberry's example.

178r [beginning of last sentence] Non propterea Ottomarum [link -rum]

178v [the text frames the illustration of front of the Phagotus] -rum Luscinium Argentinum, quam musurgiam edidit, in qua, tot musicae facultatis organorum genera, quot(ut reor) cognoscerem potuit, cumulatissime atque ordine multo recensuit, usumque; eorum eleganter tradidit, omnino taxavi, quod in ea instrumentum hoc [a small figure of a fist with a pointing index finger follows the 'hoc' and points to the plate of the Phagotus, but it is considerably lower on the page than in the other example] non apposuerit, Cuius exemplum atque simulacrum a calchographo nostro impressum una cum prima praesentis introductorii libelli nostri parte (in quod dicti instrumenti descriptio satis abunde continetur.) [link Cum]

179r [the text frames the illustration of the back of the Phagotus] Cum diligenti cuidam Mediolanensi, procuratori, seu Bibliopolae, qui locupletissimae alteri mercatoris librariae apothecae, in Ticinensi Urbe curam gerit, in Basileam Germaniae (pro ut dixerat), praefecturo, & enixe, ut Germanis calchographis ostenderet, efflagitanti, tradidissem, ut postmodum in patriam rediens secum reportaret, & mihi optima fide restitueret. Nescio qua ratio.ne [sic], qua ve fiducia bibliopola ille, sive merca- [link -tor]

The character of Andrea Calvus has been excised from the text and replaced by the more general term 'mercator.' Various techniques have been used to accomplish this (including the introduction of a Greek phrase, where the above name framed the phrase '(ut mihi videt)' in the midst of folio 179v.

There might then have been some change in the relationship with Andrea Calvus during the preparation and printing of the book so that his designated part in its creation was not fulfilled and his name had to be taken out of later copies of the book. I have already alluded to Smitskamp's theory that the changes are due to the printers poor cutting of set pages so that Ambrogio's words had to be altered to fit within the more confined space; this possibility reminds us that the printers of the day were not ashamed to ask the author to alter the text for the sake of their needs to justify lines and pages.

179v -tor ipse mihi imposuit. Procurator quippe brevi Papiam e Mediolano reversus, domino opus videndum tradidisse, & in Germaniam properanti consignasse

retulit...Cum vero postmodum audivissem Mercatorem ex Germania reversum, ad quartum idus mensis Septembris Mediolanum pergo, & in domum familiariter illum & amice visito. Rogo praeterea ut librum meum restituat. Negotiorum se gestori suo, nescio cui Germano, ex Basilea Frankfordium dixit deferendum dedisse, referendumque ac restituendum postea... [last sentence] Et ut antiquos in prae-[link: sentia]

Starting again with 180r the text follows the Newberry's example except for the change in the link word from 'viventi' to the more nuanced 'superstiti.' It should be noted that the 'super' is abbreviated so that there is no difference in the font size or word length.

180r -sentia ommittam, antiquorumque; monumenta praeteream... [last sentence] Quantum tribus aliis Curtiis, & Stephano Ottono, & Andreae Bassignanae, praeceptoribus meis innocentissimis, Mangiariis, Folpertis, Iacobo Gualae, Gambaranae, [link: & superstiti]

180v & superstiti adhuc apud nos, & idem Ius fideliter Interpretanti, Boscho debeat, scripta per eum volumina manifestent... [last sentence] Nec in ea Caesarei Pontificiique; Iuris parte, quae in actione versatur, Ioannem Petrum Ferrarium, a me praetereundum [link: censuerim,]

Conclusion:

The Matenadaran's copy of the Introductio... unfortunately displays many defects that do not allow the fullest understanding of Ambrogio's arguments within the text. The misprints in the reset pages do great damage to Ambrogio's stated purpose of introducing the Syriac language to a wider European audience.

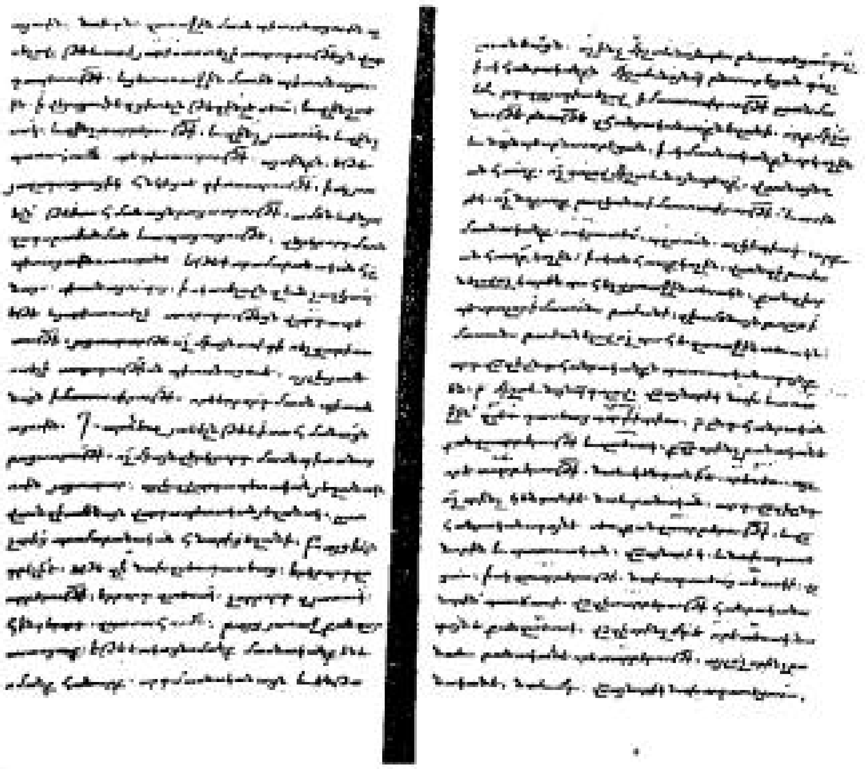
Part VII: Appendix to Chapter I: Example pages from Ambrogio's manuscripts.

Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120

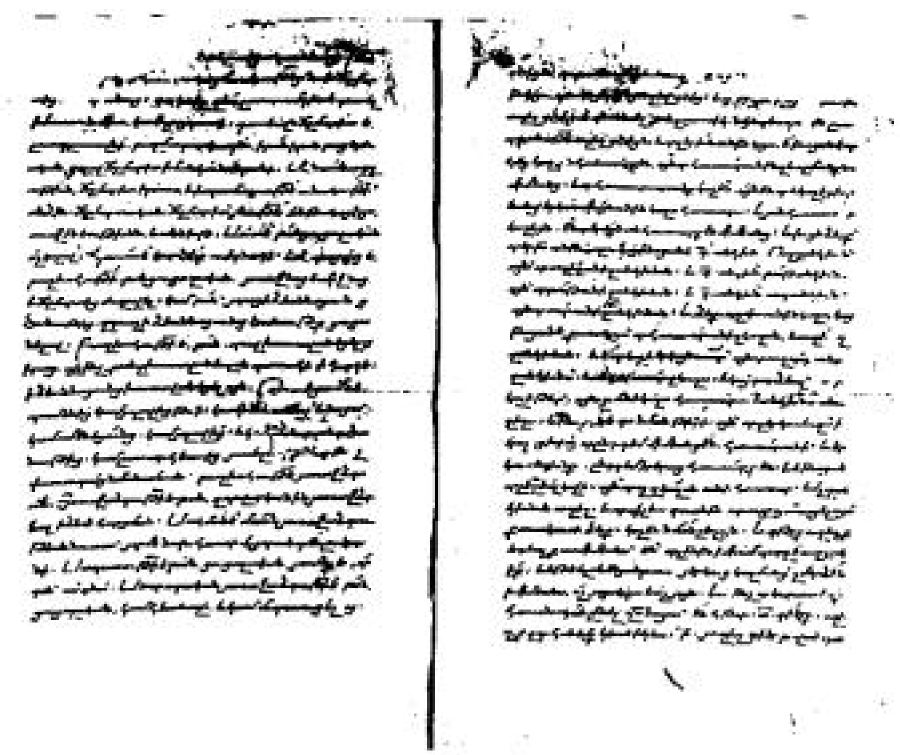
Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120

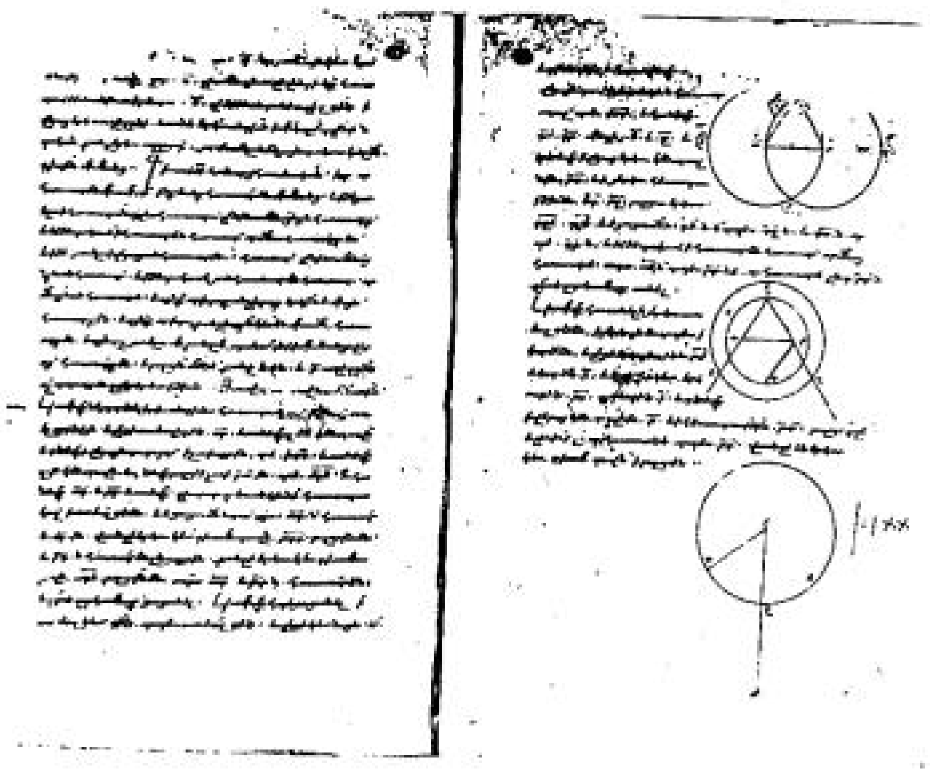
Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120

Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120

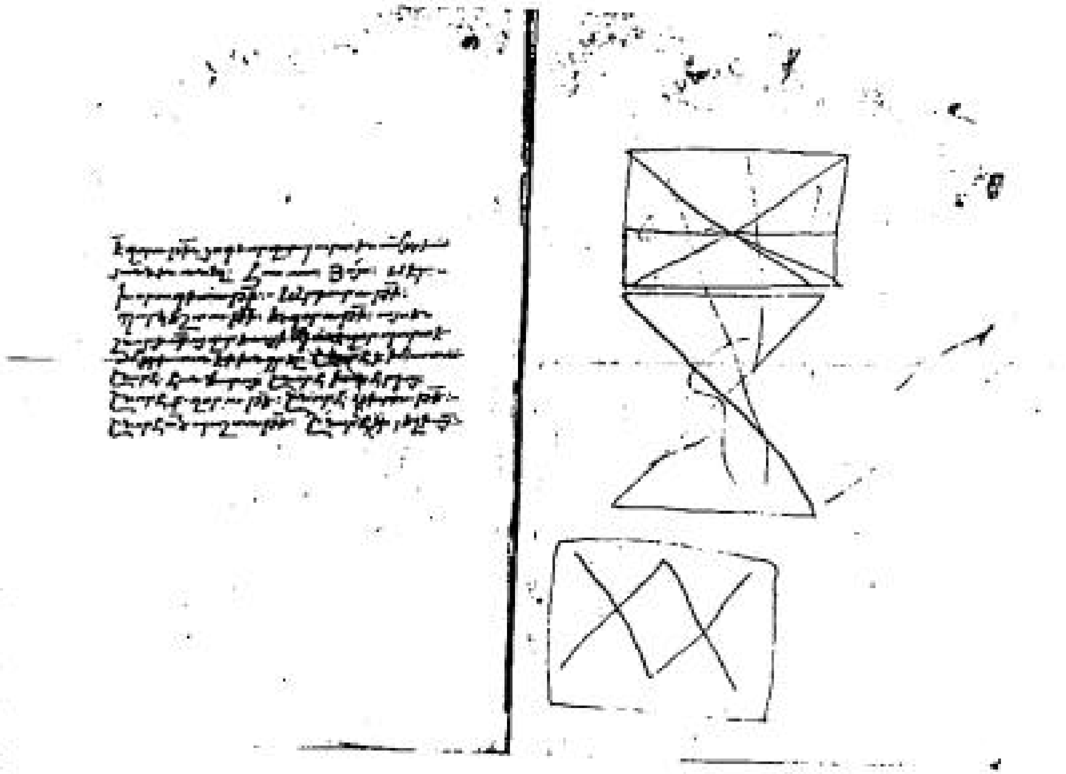


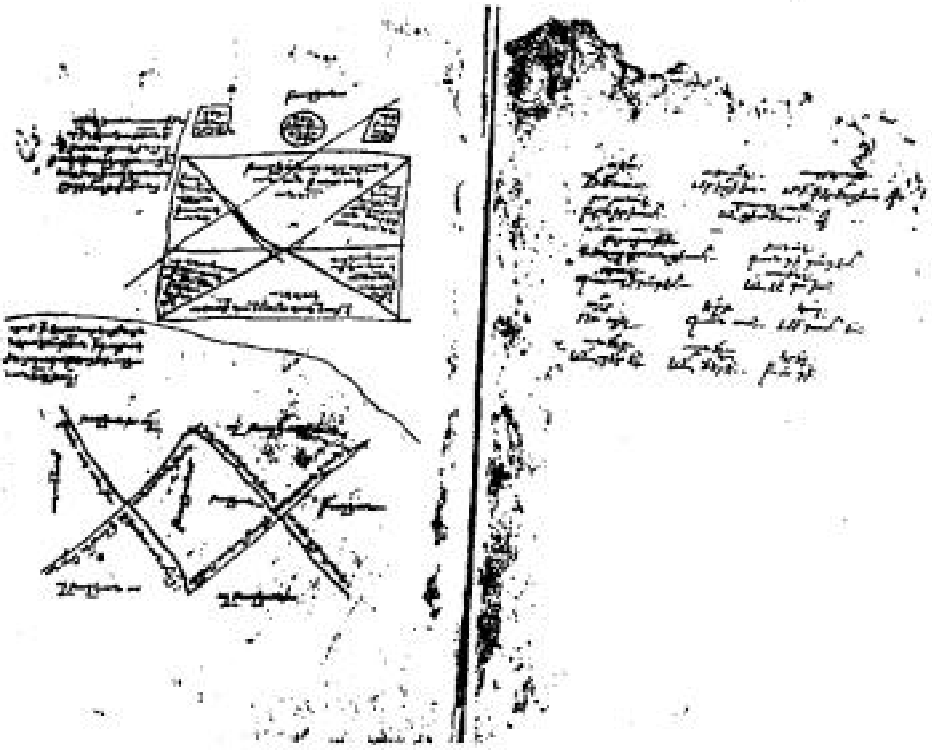
Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120



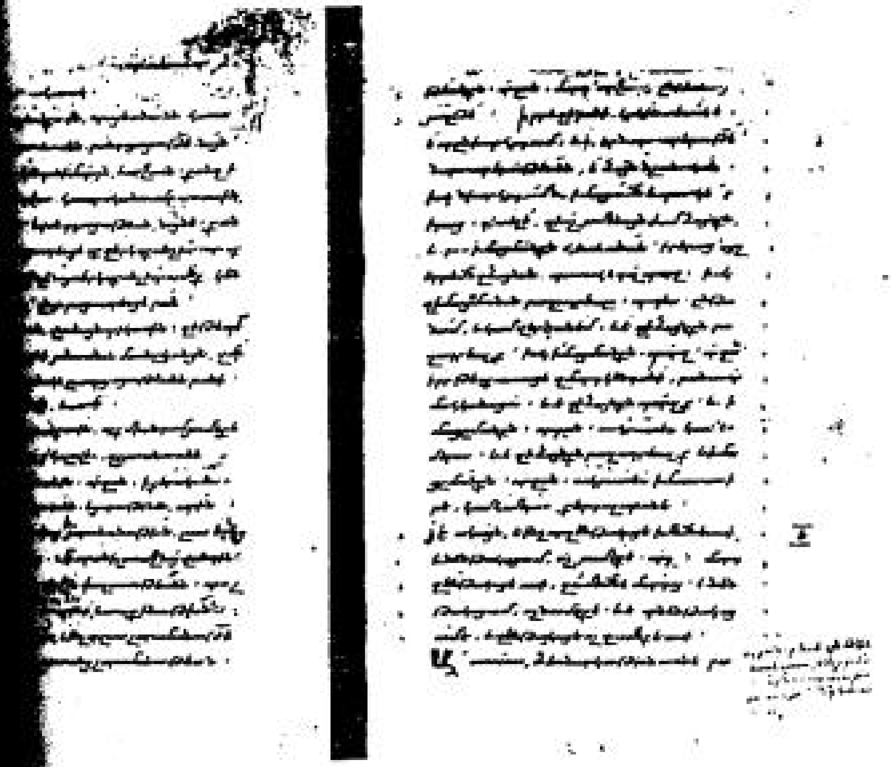


Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120

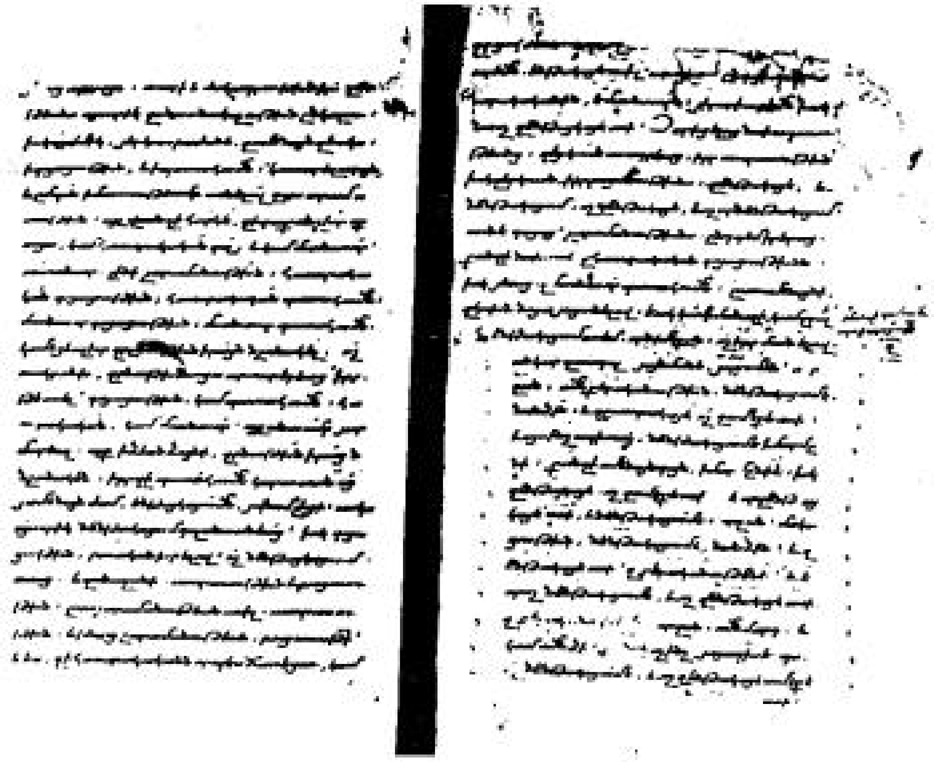


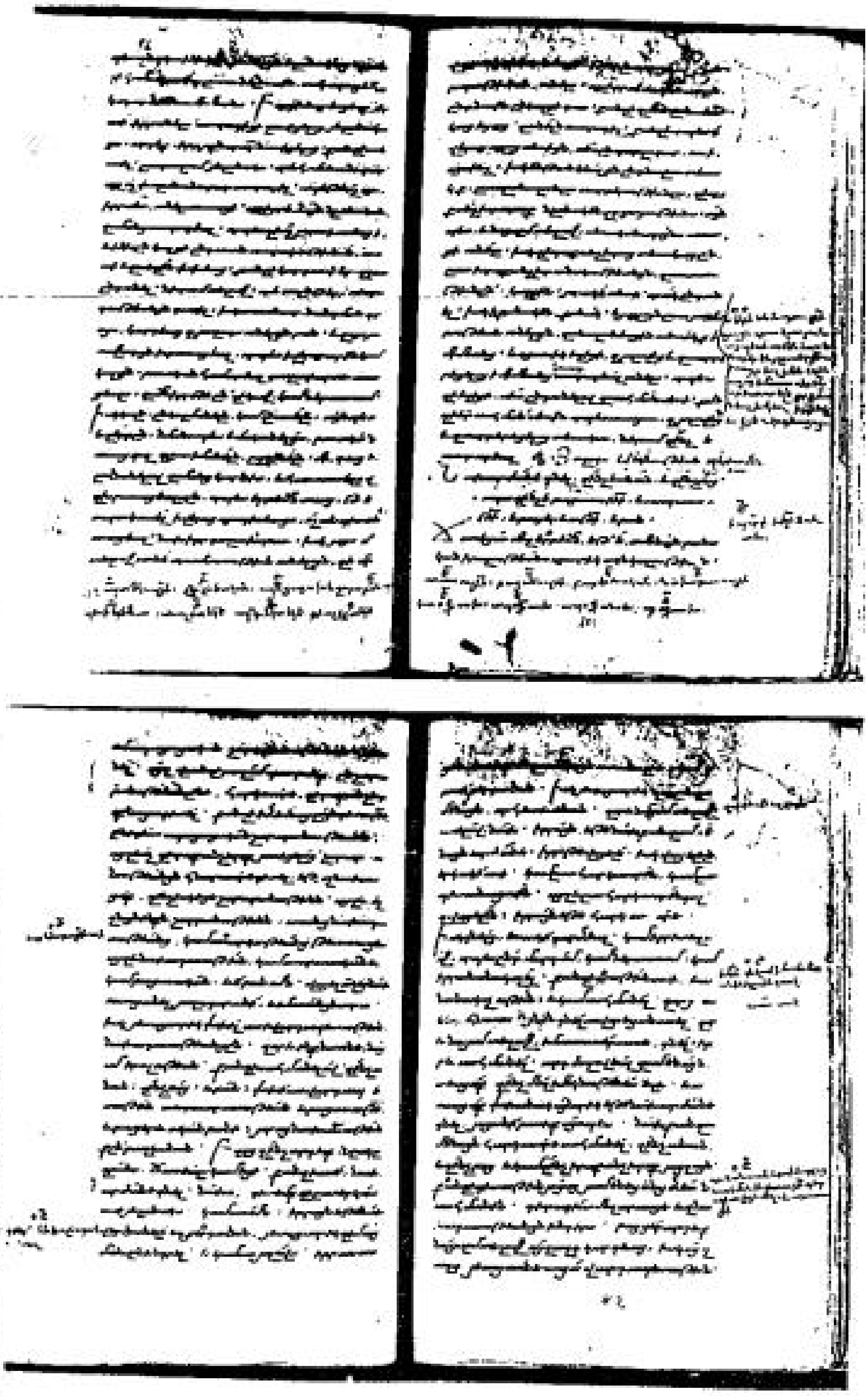


Ձեռագիր 17941-4, 101-104 և 156-159

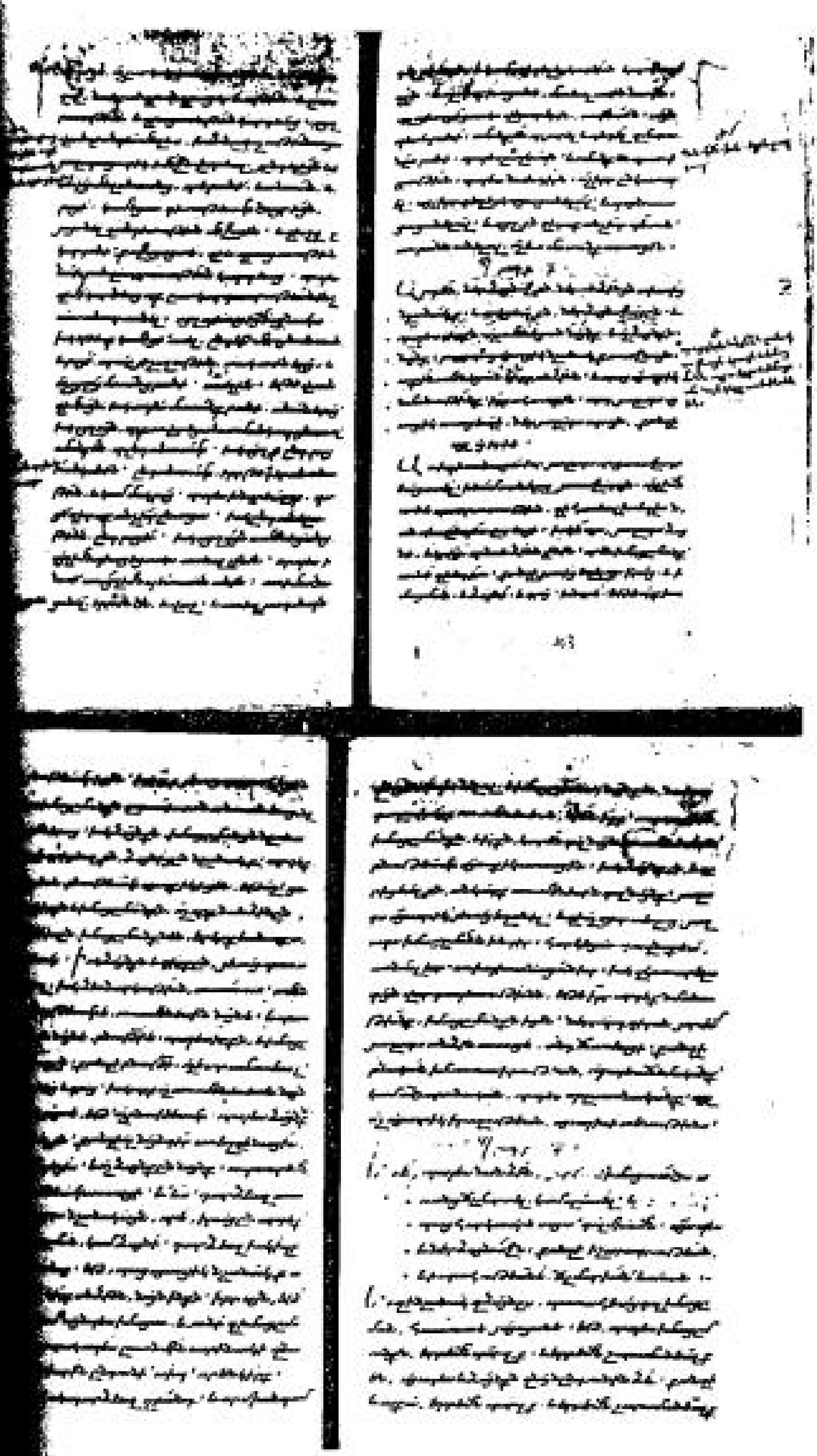


Ձեռագիր 179/1-4, 101-104 և 156-159





Ձեռագիր 179/1-4, 101-104 և 156-159



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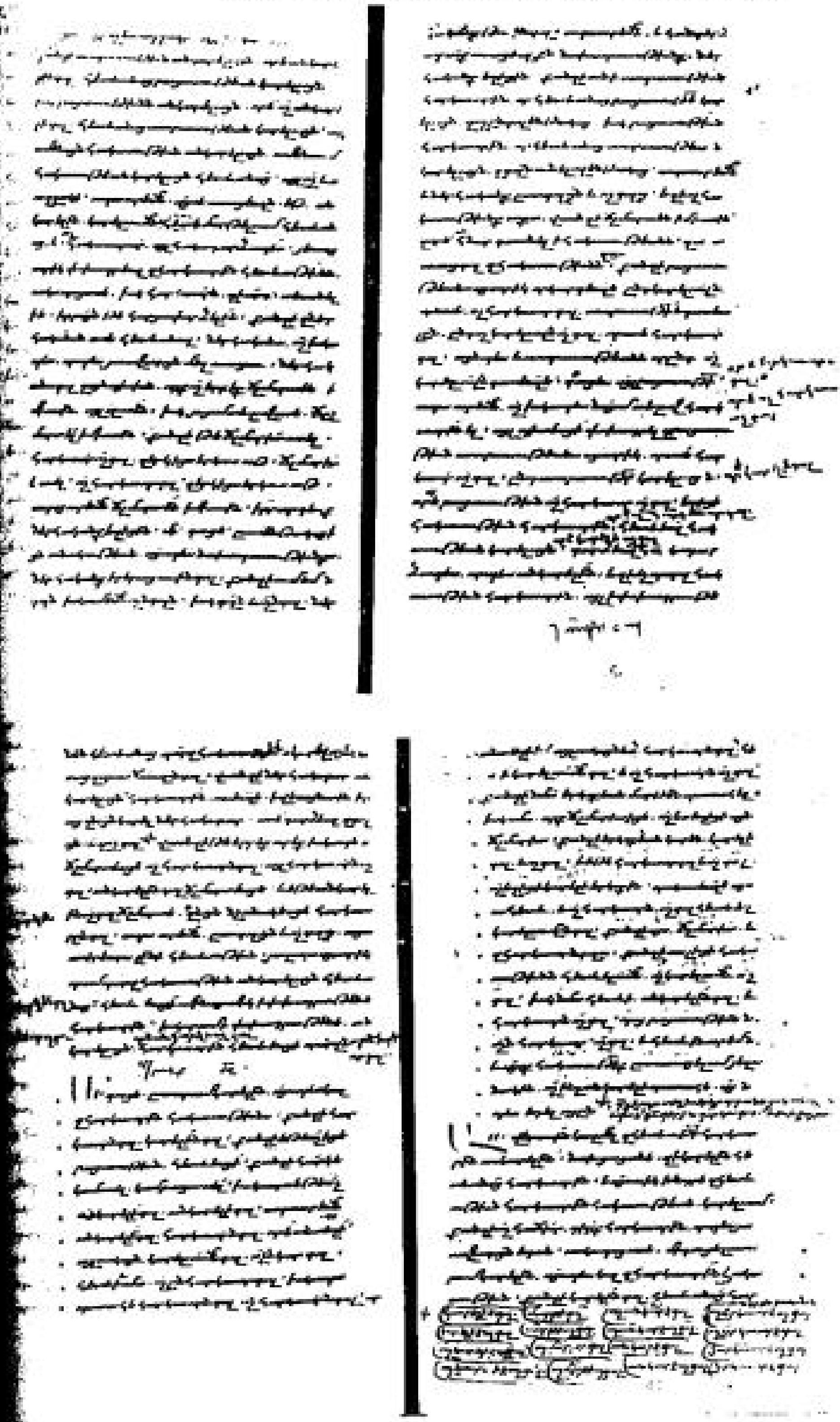
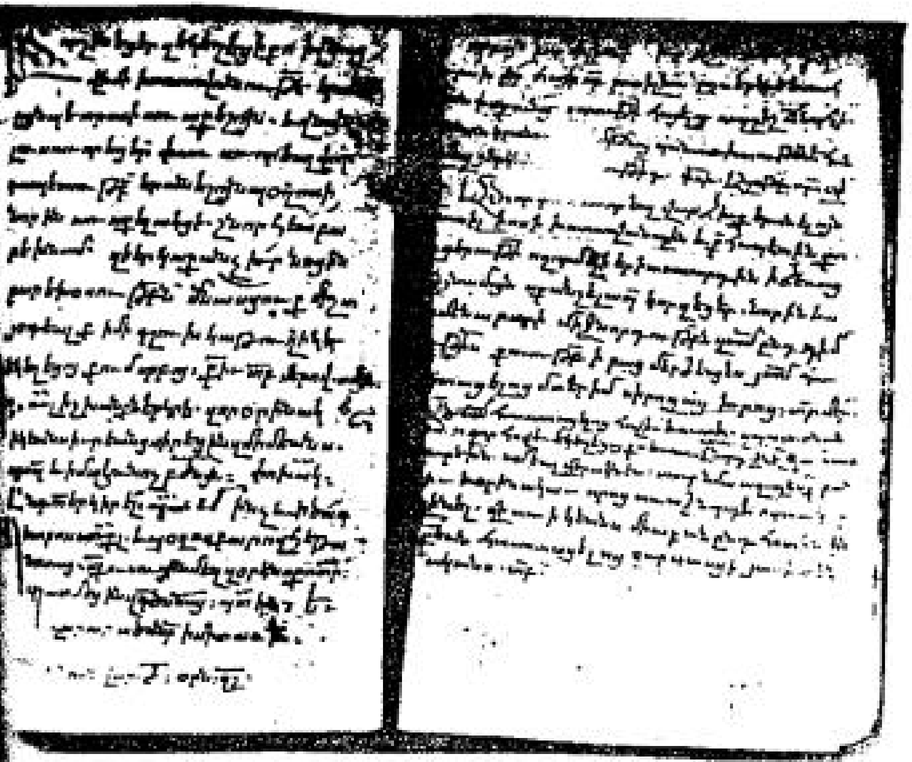
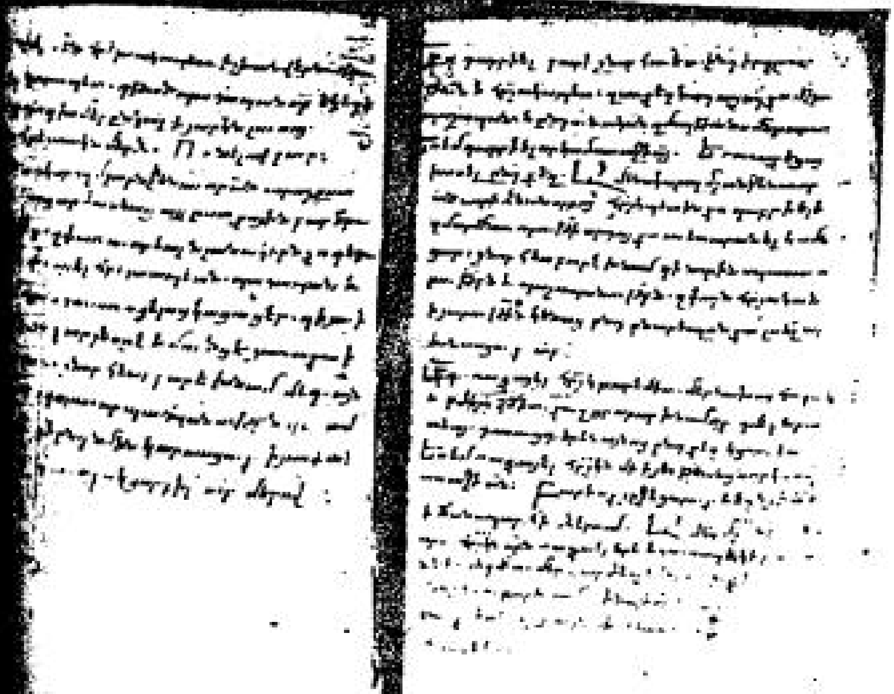


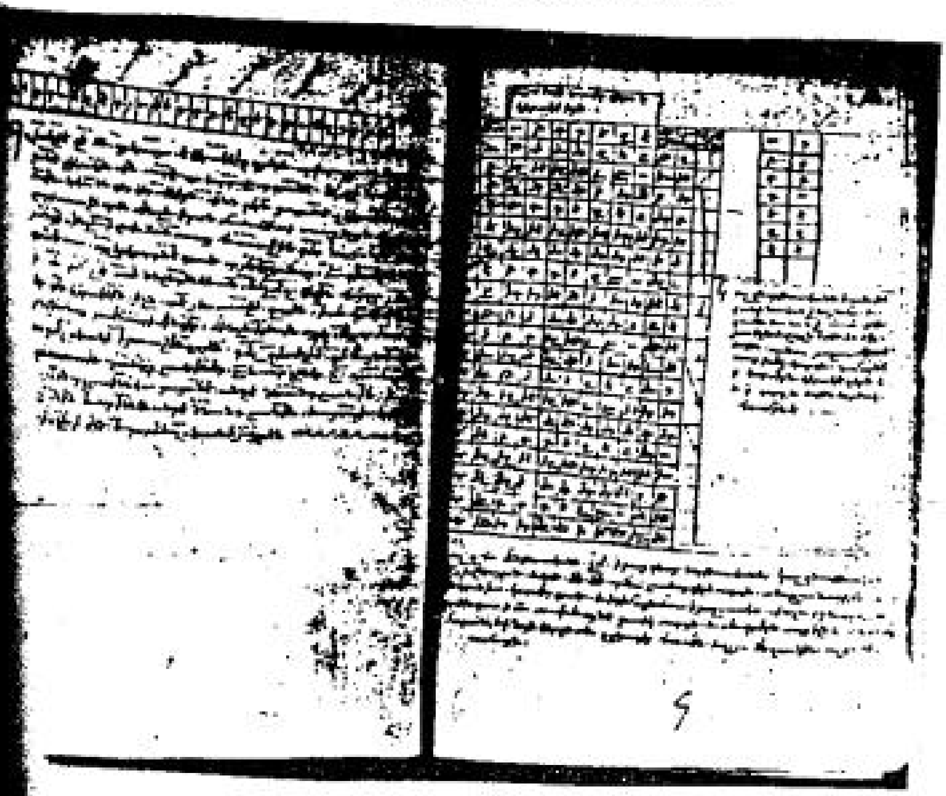
Ձեռագիր 179/1-4, 101-104 և 156-159

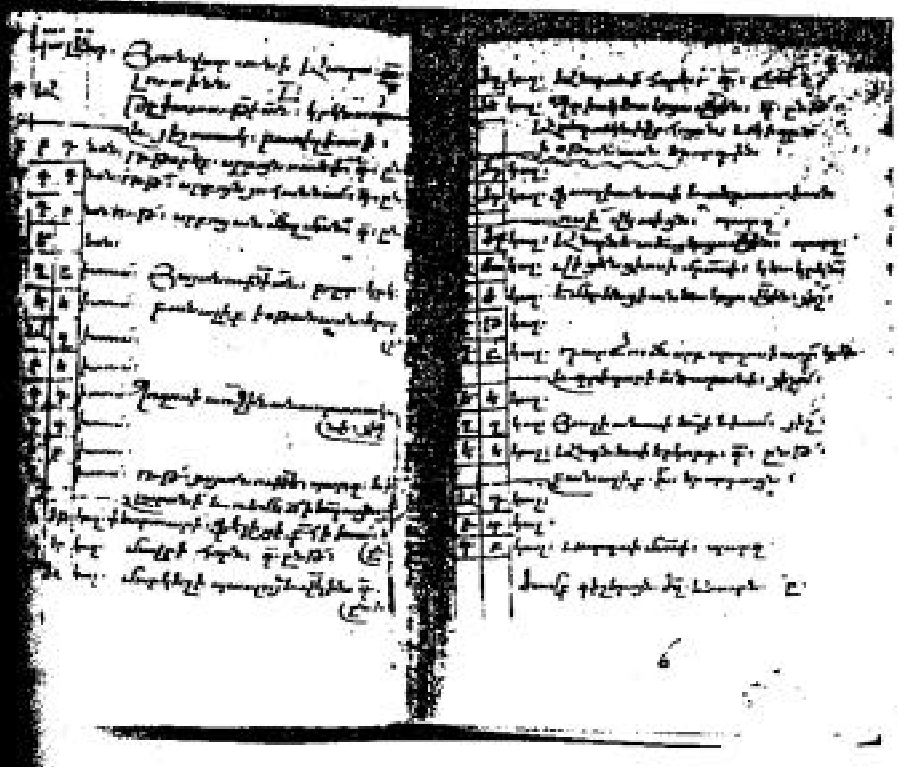
Ձեռագիր 346/7-23



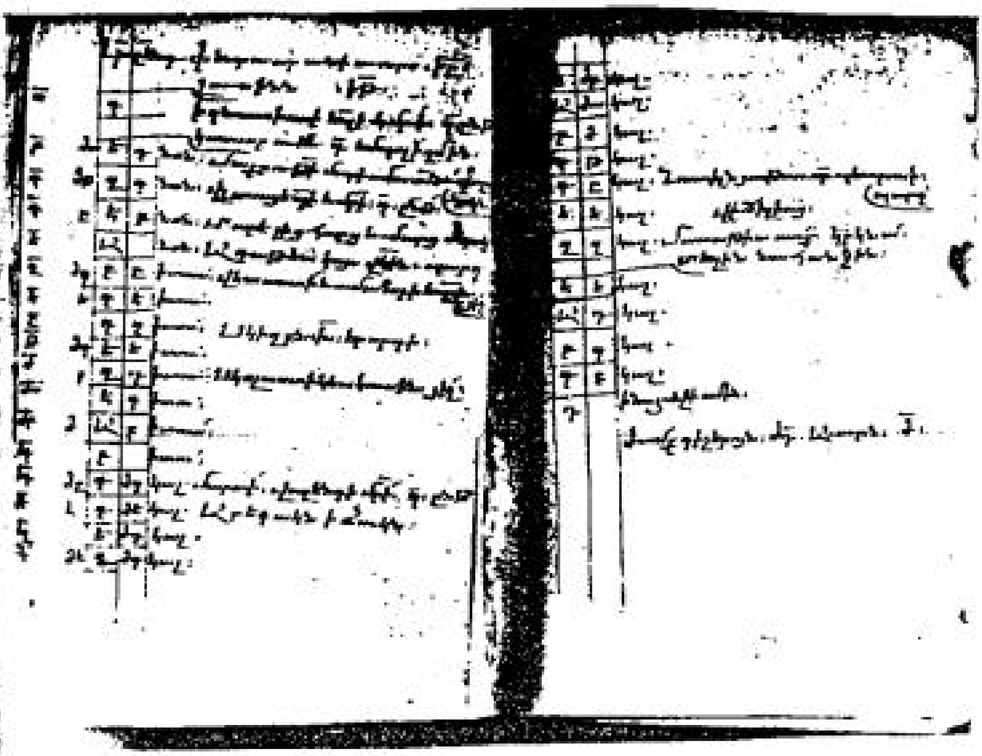


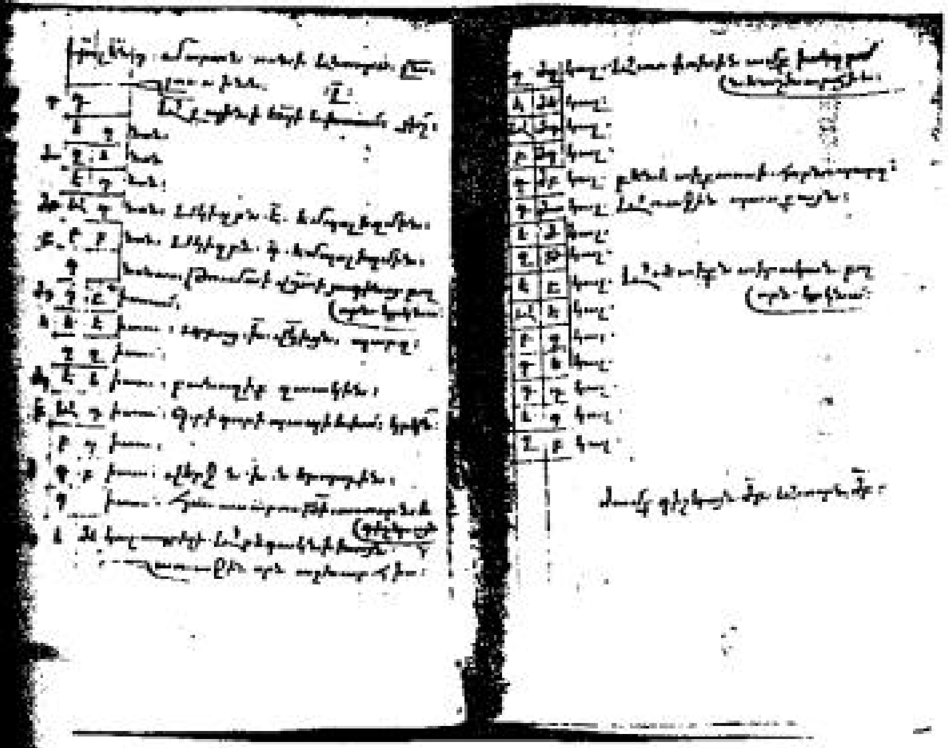
Ձեռագիր 346/7-23



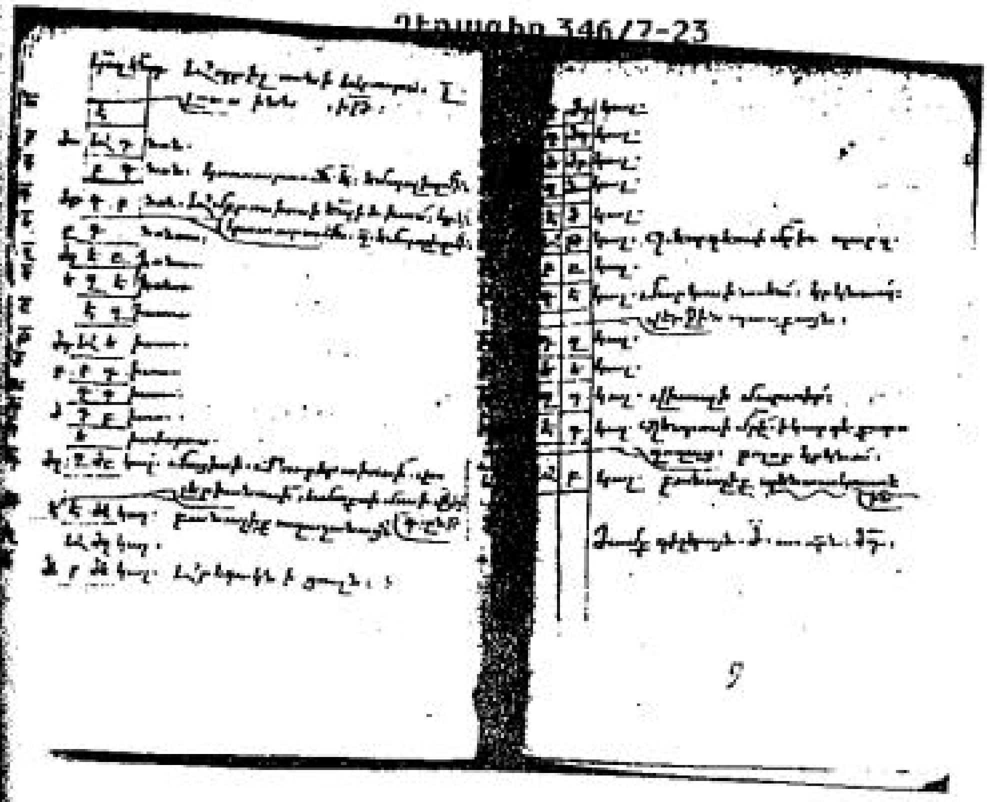


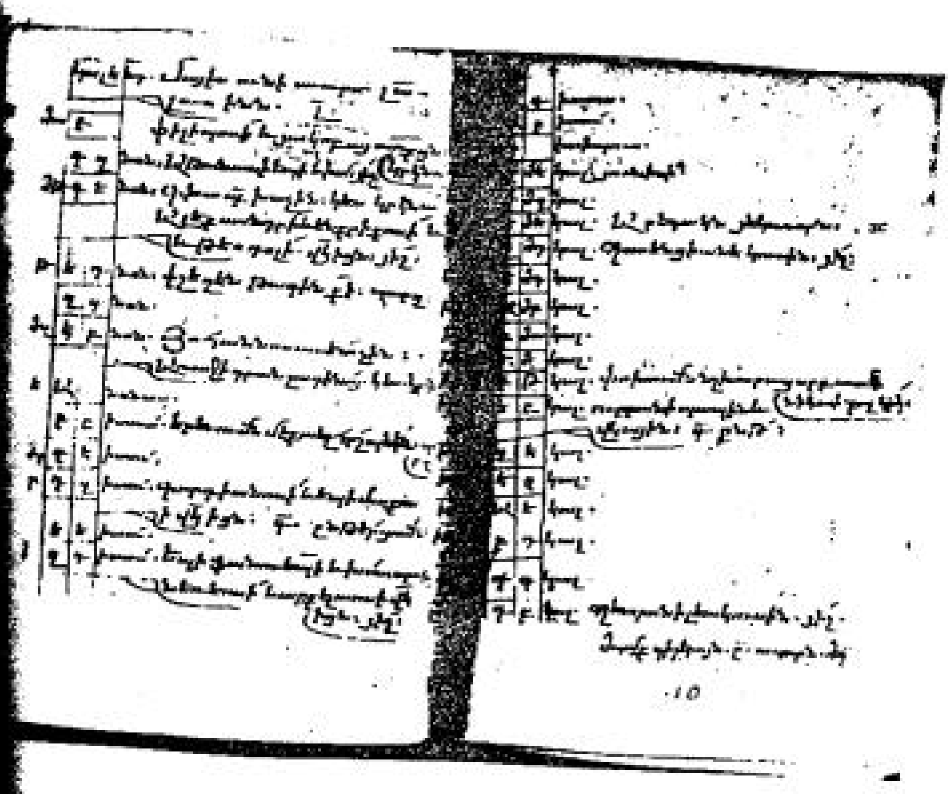
Ձեռագիր 346/7-23



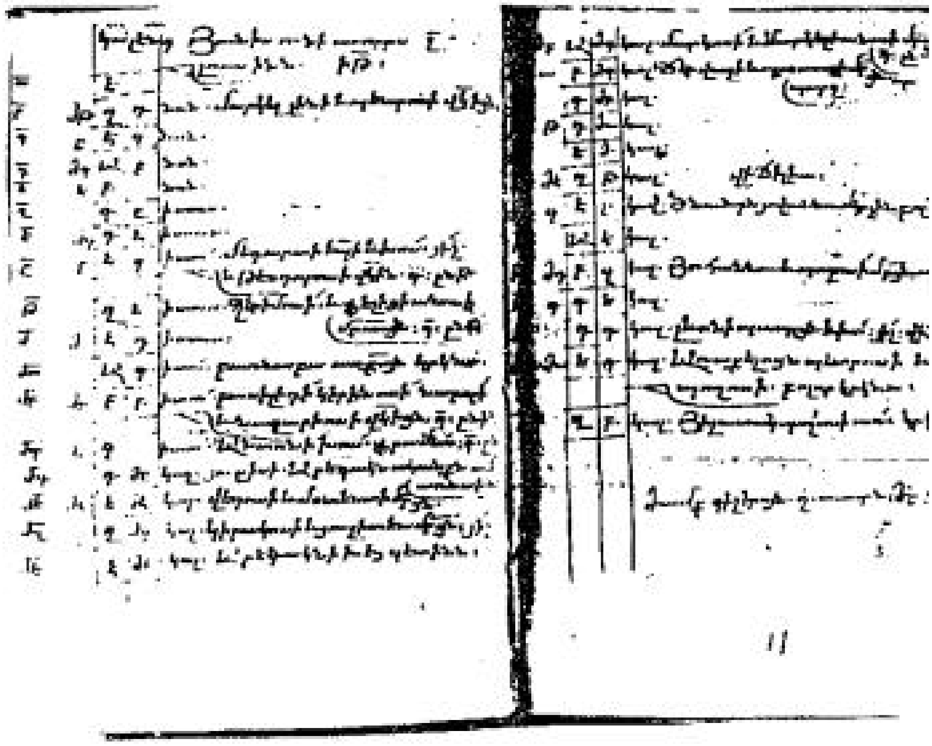


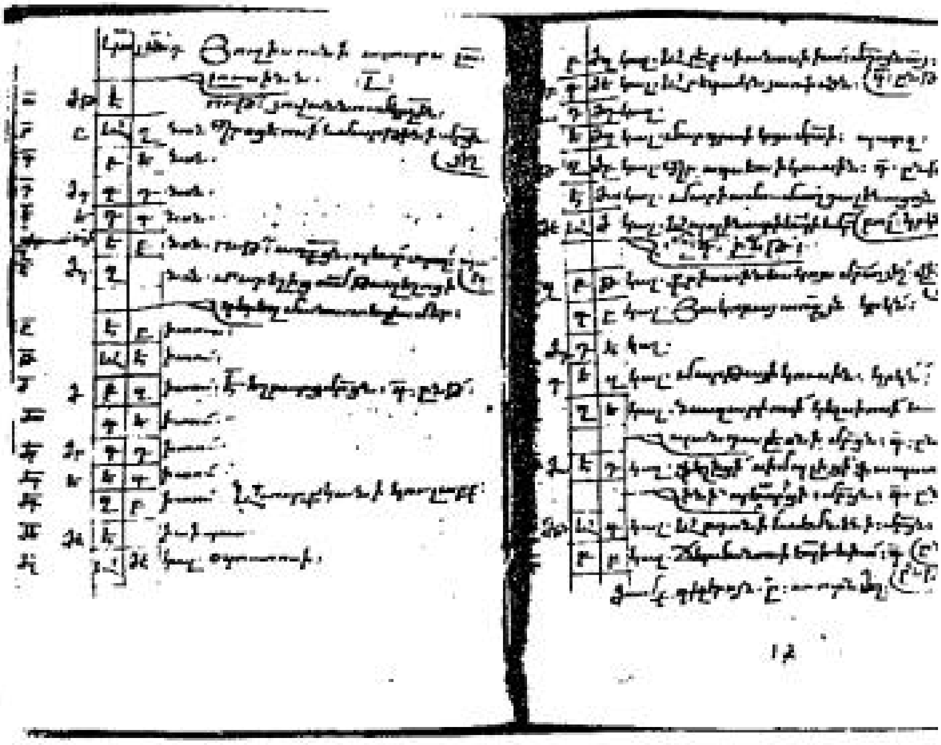
Ձեռագիր 346/7-23



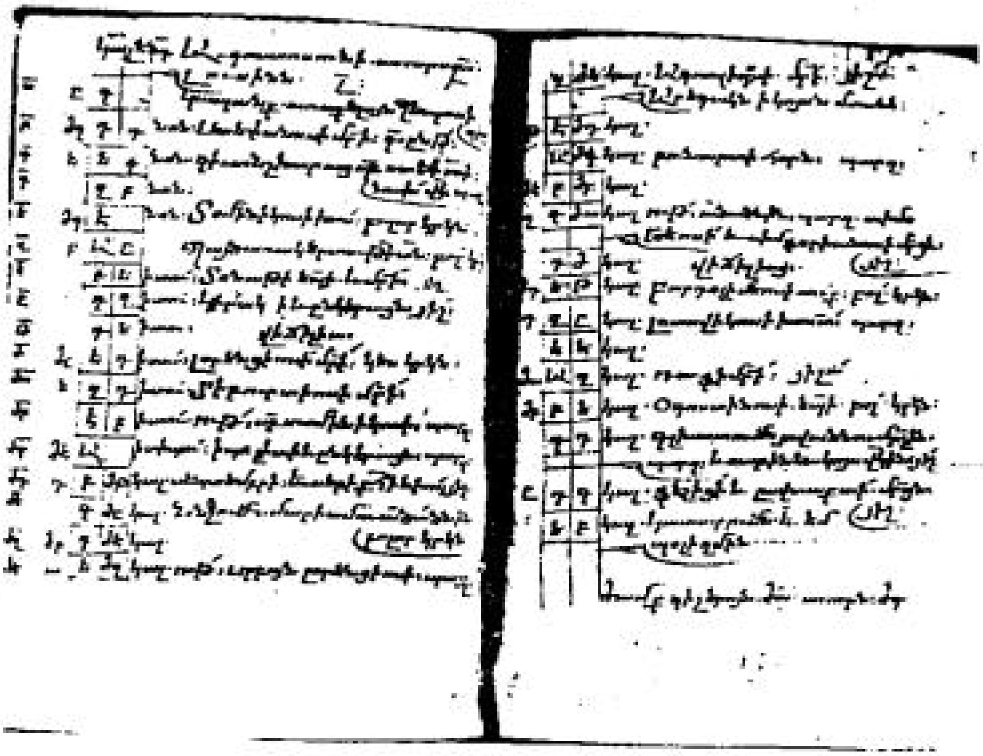


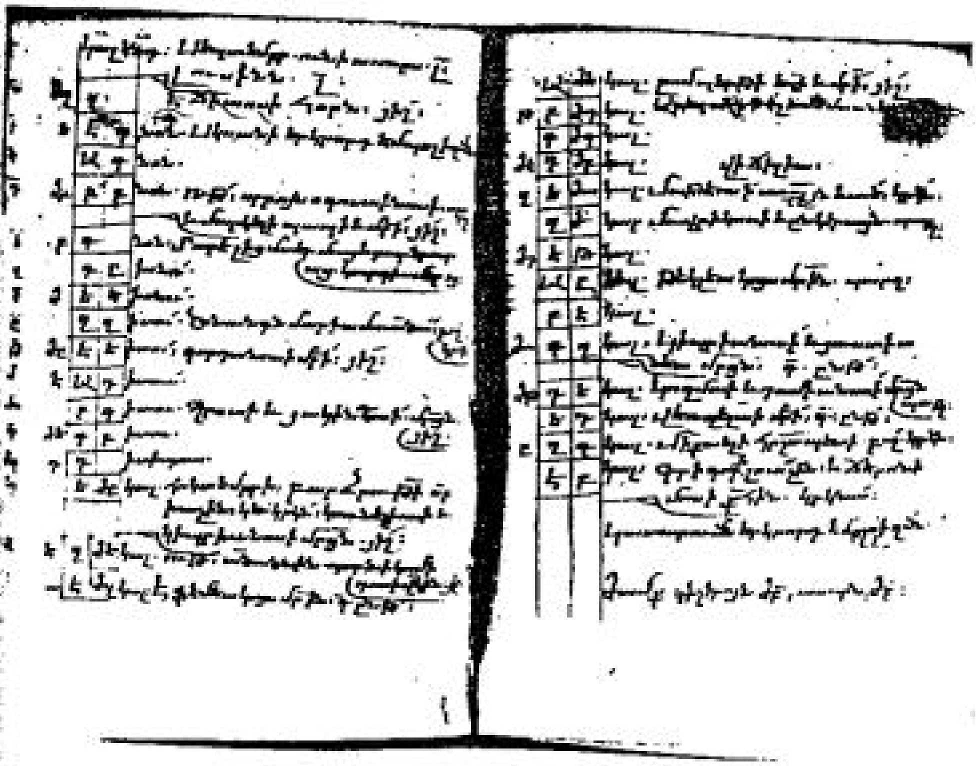
Ձեռագիր 346/7-23





Ձեռագիր 346/7-23

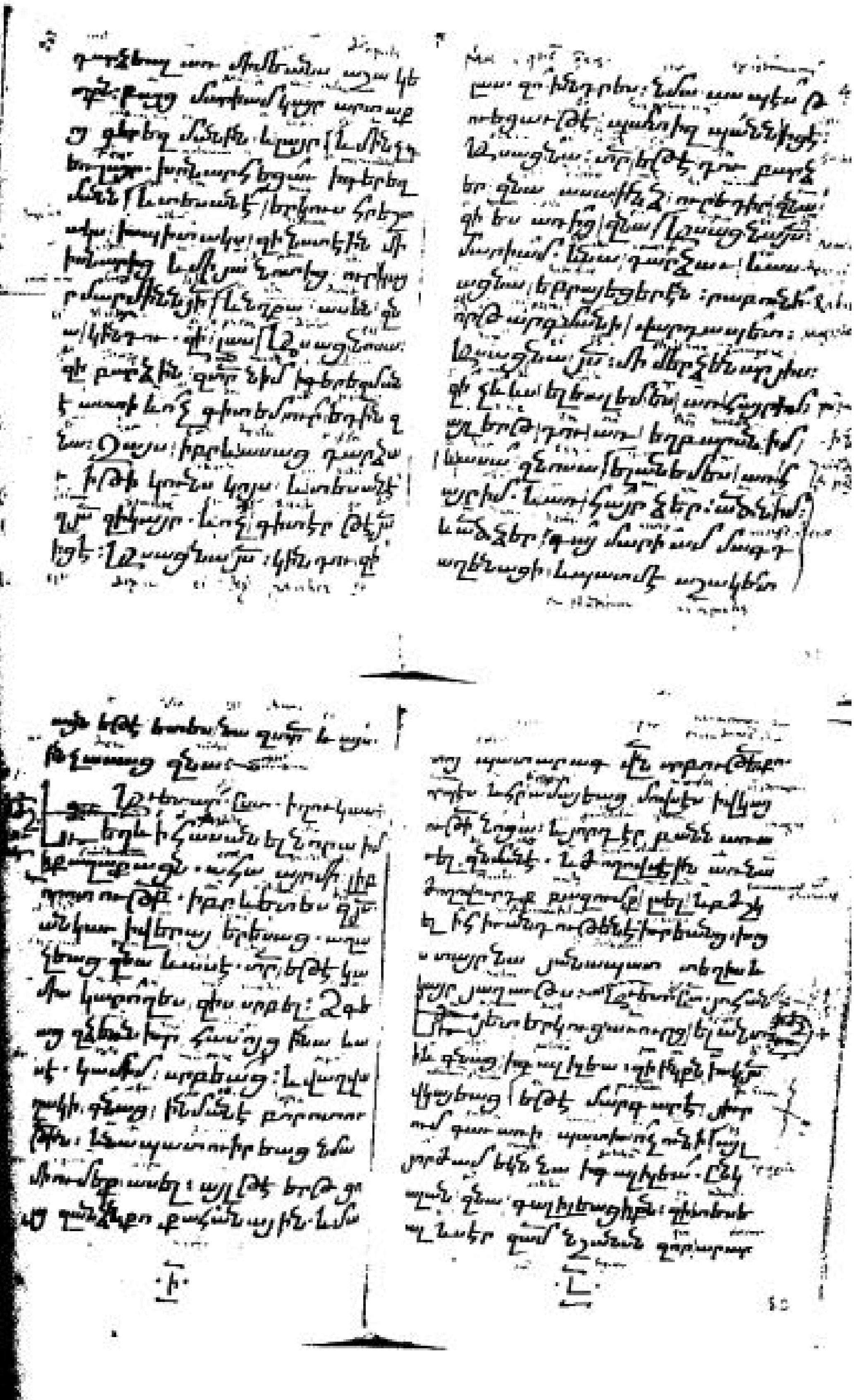




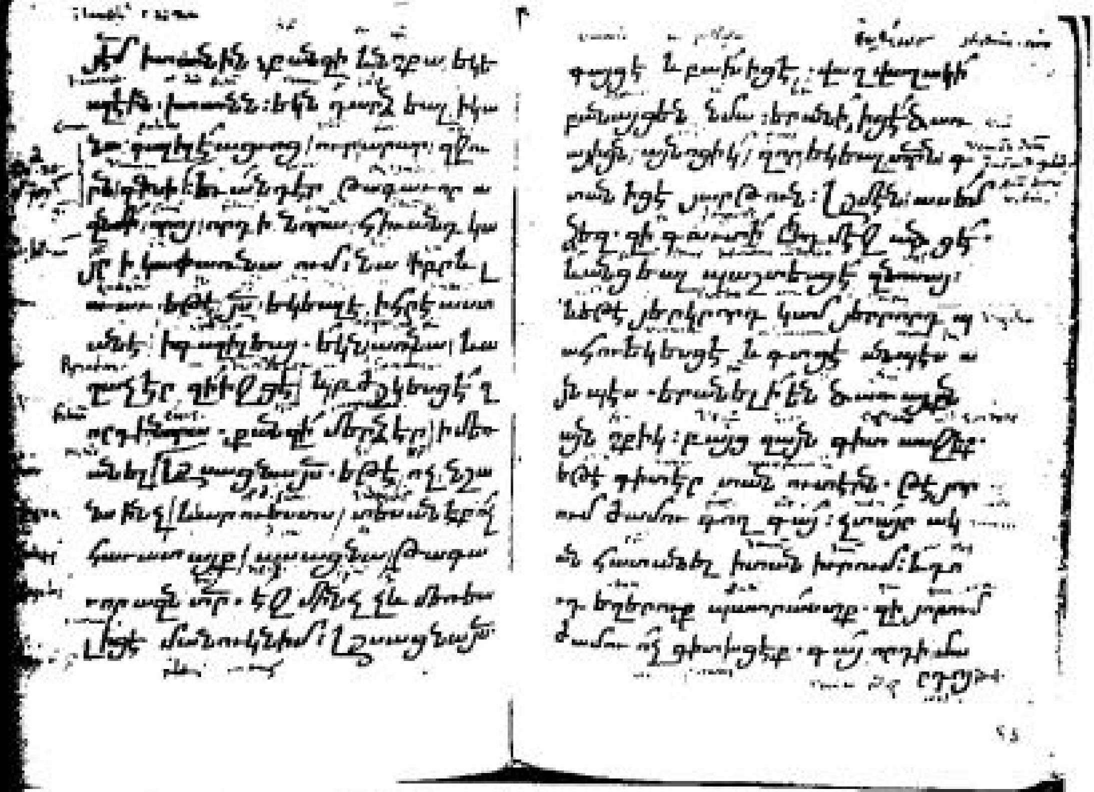
Ձեռագիր 346/7-23

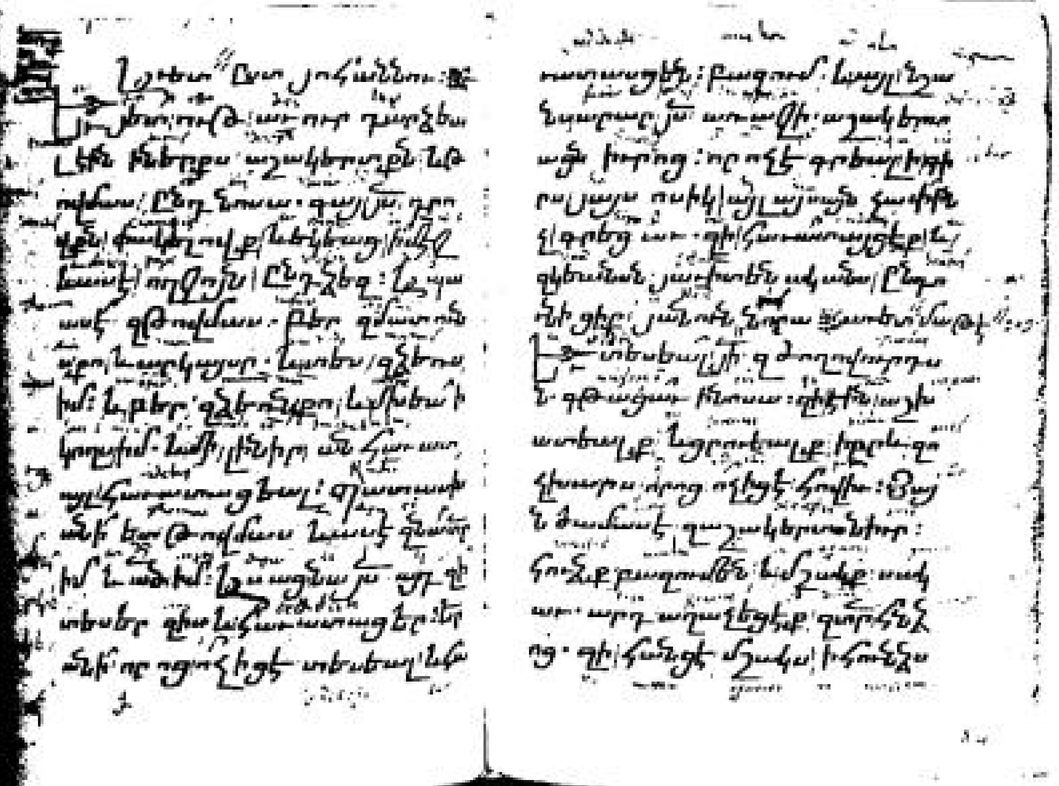
[illegible]

Ձեռագիր 347/81-84 և 94-95

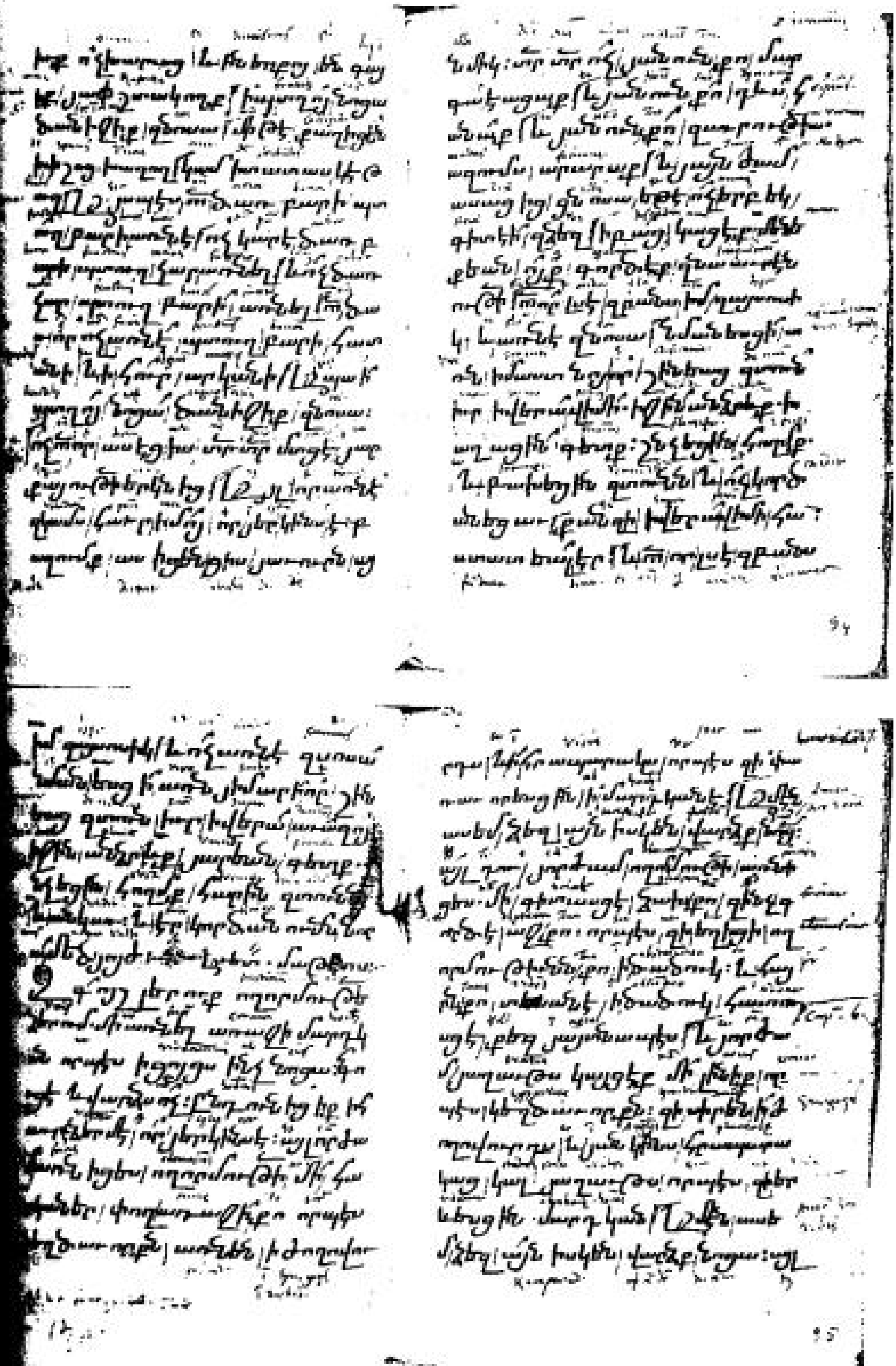


Ձեռագիր 347/81-84 և 94-95





<u>Ձեռագիր 347/81-84 և 94-95</u>



Chapter II: Adam's Tongue and Yahweh's Alphabet

Introduction

How might we best characterize the work of this Canon, Abbot, Language Professor at the University of Bologna (he knew Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian), correspondent with most of the famous Orientalists of his day, Count of the Albonese family, typographic experimenter, Oriental bibliophile and collector of manuscripts (still possessed by the Library of the University of Pavia, his native city), writer of two liturgical translations in manuscript, copyist of the Arabic Gospels, musician and instrumental theorist, Papal investigator into the orthodoxy of the Oriental Christian churches, and producer of one and only one printed book in the whole of his 70 years? It is the last fact that seems the most anomalous: his rough contemporary Postel wrote more than a score of books in his similar lifespan, and the average scholar that kept correspondence with either of these two would have been the author of many titles. We must assume that there was a character flaw that prevented him from being prolific; certainly he saw many of his collections of books destroyed by the ravages of Northern Italy by the French, Venetian League and Papal armies. This flaw, I suggest, was excessive meticulousness: his book in so many alphabets had very few copies made in the last year of his life, but there were two editions (completely reset each time), with careful corrections of the text in the second (all of this done while Ambrogio was on his death bed). What he did would be properly done or not done at all! (However, there may have been only one complex printing, see Appendix to Chapter 1.)

The purposes built into the book can be illuminated by the use of the following close analogy: If a modern language teacher constructs a text built upon the various traditions of the dissemination of Aesop's *Fables* in three languages beyond the native one, and he/she carefully transliterates and accurately translates the texts' syntax and morphology, while giving them in their originals, which are carefully placed in parallel according to the commonalities of the tales (three examples of the Fox and the Grapes in

three different languages followed by three similar examples of the Fox and the Crow), then we have an instrument that has many levels of significance: 1. The tales themselves are well-known in the language of use and thus, give the reader a firm semantic foundation on which to base his/her learning. 2. The apparatus clearly displays word order (syntax), lexicon and case, and the aesthetics of the arrangement (clarity of font and page formatting) allow or disallow easy comparison and contrast. 3. The similarities and contrasts themselves are a rich lode for cultural and philosophical speculation on the texts' use and place in the other's society (whether the fox has been transmuted into a bear or the crow into a magpie can suggest an entirely different, but parallel iconography and semiotic). 4. The commonalities of the texts and the lack of cumbersome commentaries suggest to the reader that the cultures and persons creating these texts are not foreign, but are profoundly brothers and sisters deserving sympathy and compassion. Much of what this sort of procedure creates is due to what is not there (commentaries, etc.) rather than to what is there, and we will comment on this 'negative evidence' as we proceed.

The above example is quite apposite for the Ambrogian procedure as the Christian scriptures and liturgies were as much a part of the cultural penetralia of his time as nursery rhymes and fables are of ours: they engage us and our ancestors constantly as we speak their derivations, gnomic phrases and proverbs. Their poetic use sets up a semantic stratification of the literal phrase (a reality that has suggested the comparison of the critic or philosopher of language to the archeologist). (Foucault, 1996, i-ix) Ambrogio had created an engaging critical site, wherein the properly prepared archeologist-after-understanding could learn much more than the mere fundamentals of the Oriental Christians' languages; she/he would also learn the subterranean connections of her/his own scriptural commonplaces and the alternate interpretations that held sway in alternate strata within the differing Christian lands of a common Oecumene. The prepared mind would be profoundly affected in its world-view (philosophy and theology), ethics, symbology and breadth by the very process. Ambrogio wisely did not narrow his possible goals by defining the interpretation of the texts included. He was engagingly open to the knowledge available from almost any source, for he interprets texts using the

multivalent tools of the Greeks, Arabs, Jews and Christians (of all stripes) and he implicitly advises the reader to 'go and do likewise.'

The principles that underlay its construction then are dependent upon the expectations and the training of the readership for whom it was designed. Once we put this book in that context we can begin to see the sort of knowledge that Ambrogio wanted it to impart, his epistemology; the sort of attitude and value that he put upon the reader and the people he was introducing them to, the Armenian, Chaldean, Coptic, Melkite, Dalmatian, Bulgarian, etc. Christians of the Ottoman realms, his ethics; the book's organizational principles and their connection to the above projects, his aesthetic and semiotic concerns. We will also have to interpret each of these philosophical arenas in the light of the others, and the most effective hermeneutic means will be those that Ambrogio honored the most, the mystic/kabbalistic and the spiritual/allegorical. These then are the primary philosophical questions that we will raise so as to explain the book as a functional instrument: a linguistic work that was to and did introduce much of the Renaissance's Latinate academic readership to the languages and comparative Christian belief systems of Oriental Christian communities while using effectively the reader's own training, outlook and memorial library (Carruthers, 1990, 170-171).

Nonetheless, for modern readers, Ambrogio Teseo's work often seems overly discursive and rambling; music or numerological matters intrude into phonetic discussions; complex alphabetic charts and difficult multi-alphabetic exercises appear without any supporting commentary or notes. For example, his own description of Chapter 15 in his table of contents might confuse a modern reader from the very start: 'De syllabis servilibus Armenorum, & inibi simulachrum Phagoti, & catalogus virorum excellentium in diversis facultatibus, civitatis Papiae.' (see my Introduction for a full translation) To a modern reader of the text, it could seem to be the very opposite of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*. Still, the evidence for its wide use and popularity (its materials appear in numerous works throughout the 16th and 17th centuries) argues that its users-learners found it both more than adequate and superior to other manuals that concentrated upon only one of the Oriental languages.

The looming power of the Ottomans and the possible end to the Christian world he knew was ever present to Ambrogio, yet as we shall emphasize later, he could not know the coming fracture of European Christianity itself; he was working for the suturing together of all Christian and even Jewish fragments so that they might better face the implacable Ottoman enemy that was moving from victory to victory everywhere in Central Europe and the Mediterranean. Indeed, the fear imposed by the Ottomans defied any sectarian Christian boundary. Anti-Ottoman warnings much like Ambrogio's are found throughout Marianna Birnbaum's book on the Latin Academic world of Central Europe in the 16th century; Georgievits, whose work (1562) on the Turks was published with a forward by Melanchthon (Luther's lieutenant), wrote for example: 'Videmus Turcicam potentiam in genere humano excellere, Reges et Principes Europae caeteros suas vires domesticis bellis consumere. Interea Turci procedunt. Et praedixit Hiltenius ante annos octoginta, dominaturos esse Turcos in Italia et Germania. Anno 1600. In his vastationibus quae et ubi erit Ecclesia?' (Birnbaum, 1985, 195)

It is with all of the above in mind that I have chosen the Modern philosophers with whom to compare and illuminate the Ambrogian method: Levinas, who brings the Jewish hermeneutic into the Husserlian and Heideggerian philosophical palestra (a word that Ambrogio uses again and again), and a thinker who sees philosophy in the shadow of the Holocaust as Ambrogio was constantly worried by the fall of nation after nation to the Ottomans; Habermas, who shares the angst of Levinas, but as former perpetrator rather than as victim; Bakhtin, the theoretician of the synergism of the reader, text/author and culture: Gadamer, the primary modern hermeneuticist of the Husserlian tradition and the one most concerned with the relationship between writer and reader as a rhetorical ethic based in dialectics within the Husserlian Life-world (Lebenswelt); Hermann Broch, who exemplified the self-translation that Ambrogio practiced and C. S. Pierce, whose semiotic insights will clarify the connected levels of Ambrogio's languages: sounds, alphabetical letters, concepts, and text.

Part I: Ambrogio's Philosophical and Theological Hermeneutic: the Textures of the Many Voices of the Divine

Our understanding of Ambrogio's work as a whole faces many difficulties: the text is nuanced Latin, there are innumerable alphabets used, the organization is ostensibly by alphabetical order, first vowels and then consonants, the texts are often mere phrases and names taken from scripture, largely the Psalms, and a limited number of other sources (largely found in the Armenian alone), the modes of interpretation vary from the merely grammatical, the iconic, the kabbalistic, the classically mythological, the exegetic, and the theological to the formally philosophical and even advanced linguistic (taking Arab and Hebrew phonetic insights derived from the Hindus into consideration), and organizing all of this is a dense sprituality with its concern for the salvation of all mankind through Jesus Christ. Ambrogio was fully aware of the Jewish tradition of Biblical interpretation which combined the exegetic (the literal meaning) and the hermeneutic (the meaning to be garnered from the texts' contextualization within various traditions); the mnemonic 'Paradise' was used to summarize the four methods: **peshat,** the simple or literal meaning; **remez,** the allegorical or philosophical; **derash,** the inferred or analogical and **sod,** the secret or mystical (Ruderman, 1988, 10).

The investigations deployed here have one major purpose: to illuminate the philosophical underpinnings of Ambrogio's linguistic efforts; to explicate the scientific philosophy (what is and is not science: legitimate knowledge revealing methodologies) of Ambrogio as an individual and as one of the most respected Orientalist linguists of his time. This 16th century interpretive framework will be exceedingly multivalent to any modern investigator's eyes. It is for example not chance or a merely human artifact for Ambrogio that the order of the Chaldaic/Syriac alphabet can express a profound theological /philosophical (these were not separate scientific arenas at the time) sequence: Olaph aloho (deus); Beth baruio (creator); Gomal gaboro (potens); Dolad daiono (iudex); He hadoio (humilis); Vau vagdo (promissus); Zain zaiono (nutritor); Hheth hhanono (misericors); Teth tobo (bonus); Iud iohubo (liberalis); Coph cino (rectus); Lomad elimino (pacificus); Mim morio (dominus); Nun nuhero (lux); Somchath sabro (spes); Gain gobudo (gubernator) Phe pharuquo (salvator); Zzode zzlibo (crucifixus); Quoph quadiso (sanctus); Ris romo (excelsus); Scin sbihho (gloriosa), and Thau

thlithoiutho (trinitas). (Folio recto/verso 10) This order expressing divinity unto trinity is simply divine intervention and has as solid a reality as knowledge as the phonetics of the languages themselves.

This sort of interpretation is alien to most of our present linguistic or philosophical works. Yet, it does not prevent Ambrogio from positing a clear historical relation and development of alphabets from one originator (the Chaldaic) and from showing how the letters of different alphabets are related; facts which modern science generally agrees upon and which have been laboriously proven in numerous modern handbooks (see Senner, 1989, 2-10). It also does not stop him from presenting more than one relational grid (implicitly contradictory) because the spiritual, physical (phonetic and visual), numerical/numerological and mystic/astral systems need not slavishly adhere and all of these systems were seen as necessary components to a proper explanation of the facts. For example, after lengthy correlations between Aleph, Alpha and Ayp, he compares the Greek Omega and the Armenian ա Ayp to the Arabic consonant doubling 'Shadda' punctuation sign because of their similar shapes and perhaps because of the length implied by Omega. (Ambrogio, 1539, 85)

Modern Hermeneutics might seem ill-suited to the interpretation of a classic or Medieval text, yet it has been inspiringly used by Burton-Christie in his recent study of the interpretation of scripture by the original Desert Fathers of the 4th century. He reminds us, ‘What can be done is to use contemporary hermenuetics tentatively and experimentally, as a heuristic aid to help explain what is present in the monastic literature and as a means of responding to the questions which the texts themselves raise. This should be understood in terms of the way interpretive models are employed in the natural sciences. A model in this sense is a particular, partial, and imaginative way of approaching a question or problem so that it can be seen in a new light and given greater clarity. (Burton-Christie, 1993, 16) Burton-Christie uses Ricoeur's insights concerning the texts independence from the author to justify his methods: 'This process leads to what Ricoeur calls the ‘semantic autonomy of the text.’ The author's intention and the meaning of the text cease to coincide, and ‘the text’s career escapes the finite horizon lived by its author. What the text means now matters more than what the author meant when he

wrote it.' (Burton-Christie, 1993, 20; Ricoeur, 1976,30) This textual freedom can interact with the readers' biases, but this can be understood as intrinsic to the interpretive process itself: 'The temporal distance between the text and the interpreter requires that the interpreter recognize his or her prejudices as an influential factor in understanding the text. Especially significant in this regard is what Gadamer calls 'effective historical consciousness.' Meaning is always situated by a past which involves us in an 'effective history' of inherited meanings. Whether one is aware of it or not, this effective history 'determines in advance both what seems...worth enquiring about and what will appear as an object of investigation.' (Gadamer, 1975, 267) ; 'The historicity of our existence entails that prejudices, in the literal sense of the word, constitute the initial directedness of our whole ability to experience. Prejudices are biases of our openness to the world.' (Burton-Christie, 1993, 21; Gadamer, 1976, 9) We can then more clearly see that the interpreter-reader must be one who lives the text as Steiner has commented, 'An interpreter...is, in essence, an executant, one who 'acts out' the material before him so as to give it intelligible life. Interpretation is to the largest degree, lived.' (Steiner, 1989, 7)

Thus, even though modern hermeneutics falls far short of the science that Ambrogio would have recognized, a similarly nuanced hermeneutic is part of the Heideggerian interpretation of the deeper meaning of Ontology through Greek terminolgical etymology or the critical investigation of Hoelderlin's poems. (Heidegger, 1962; 1971, 215-216) Moreover, as pointed out above, there is one tradition (the Jewish one) that remains a living reminder of the ethical (spiritual) primacy of all seeking after knowledge--of our responsibility and even enhostagement by the Other (God or fellow human) and with the Truth, a process rather than a proposition, an intersubjective dialogue of potential equals. The great voice in this tradition is that of Emmanuel Levinas, whose essays on the intersection of philosophy and religion can illuminate much of what I have suggested is present in Ambrogio's work. The particular book that I shall be quoting from is Levinas' *Proper Names*. (80-90) This work is especially appropriate as a concern for proper names is a chief interest of Ambrogio throughout his languages and his book. Much of what will be referred to comes from a commentary by Levinas on the

studies of Spinoza by Jean Lacroix: Chapter 10 'Jean Lacroix: Philosophy and Religion.' (see also Gadimer, 1983, 149-151; 1992, 345-349)

Levinas continually makes reference to the 'incoherence' of the Divine; that the divine reveals itself as 'an interruption of coherent speech' (p. 80). This incoherence is amply exemplified in Ambrogio's work (see below); however, Ambrogio finds the variety of scriptural attestations interesting in itself, while the interference and possible incoherence of the texts is a divinely perpetrated puzzle set to test, rather than to scuttle, Faith. However, the modern world is more interested in the 'genesis' rather than the exegisis of the Scriptures. Levinas agrees with Paul Ricoeur when he warns that we are completely engaged in a philosophy of suspicion that refuses to interpret the manifestations of the divine as symbols, but rather wishes to explain them or to use them as symptoms of a malady (p. 82). Ambrogio's hermeneutic is one then that has generally been neglected by much of modern philosophy and science although it exists as the commonest mode of daily religious procedure.

The modern intention of demythologizing the mind and man is completely opposed to Renaissance procedures, which most often prized the mythological transposition above all else--a sort of mental alchemy. Levinas recognizes that Husserl's phenomenology cannot demythologize because it enters into all intentions, even those of madness (p. 83); it is this insight that he carries into the ethical realm and that he transforms or transmutes into an ethical foundation that once more questions the errant subjectivity of modern philosophical movements. Like Kant, he reaches out of the subjectivity of the transcendent unknown through the moral world and its immanent concerns. (De Greef, 1986, 163; Levinas, 1986, 39) Yet, it is just such a periodic prayerful grasp at ethical argumentation that unites the varied threads of Ambrogio's linguistic exempla, for they are all of a piece, the many sided sayings of the Divine, and as we read the text or as Ambrogio composed it, he as we become mindful of human tasks that our Christian or non-Christian brothers require of us. Levinas concludes with words that specify some of the sacrifice inherent in Ambrogio's life and work that he would have been unable to see, but that we may dimly discern:

'It is not necessary and it is not possible for this Singular Name to resound in being through demonstrations or actuality, nor for its 'kingdom' to be manifestation and miracle. The Youthfulness of its transcendent meaning does not signify in beliefs or hopes, but in the excessive expenditure of the human, in *the-one-for-the-other*, destroying the balance of accounts; in the 'meaningfulness freely bestowed,' without expectation of thanks, in the hyperbole exceeding long life and eternity. A project that moves not in the direction of being or non-being, but toward an excluded middle; even if language states it as a *being* or as *being ,* in calling it God. Language, ambiguous *per se* (ancillary and indiscreet), that betrays the ineffable, but thus revealing it and offering it to the 'reduction' of metaphysics. (88)

'....But the significance and indisputable obligations that can be called religious (even if this term remains intolerable to certain people because of the puerilities it evokes)--significance and obligations that give meaning to an entire group of human beings who are responsible for others--may not adhere to the revolving, englobing movement of Greek philosophy.' (89)

As we look at Ambrogio's life of dedication to the projects of others; of his sacrifice of his goals for his Churchly responsibilities, and of his final effort to produce one book that would somehow summarize his long-life's investigation, we can start to sense that Levinas' words are profoundly descriptive of Ambrogio's ethical stance.

Ambrogio's book (1539) itself defies easy classification. Postel's small pamphlet (1538a) is simply a comparative alphabetical list and Rivola's Armenian grammar (1624) is clearly that. Ambrogio obviously has encyclopedic intentions (see the title), yet within a very small compass, for he rarely leaves the Psalms for the wider realms of scripture and almost always steers clear of classical reference unless using them for historical or comparative purposes: nonetheless, music, arithmetic, geometry and divine consciousness are very frequent visitors to pages designated by titles, such as, 'the Armenian vowels or the Greek consonants.' Much of the constraint may have come from the paucity of ready sources in the Oriental tongues: Giustiniani's parallel text of the Psalms (1516) in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic and Potken's Ethiopic Psalter (1511) were quick sources for materials. Ambrogio had Psalm and Old

Testament texts in Church Slavonic (Macedonian/Bulgarian) and in the Dalmatian Catholic version (Glagolitic). We know that he had the Hebrew Bible, the Targum (the Aramaic interpretation) and parts of the Syriac New Testament (the texts are in the book and Widmanstetter in the preface to his printing of the first Syriac NT recounts being shown these by Ambrogio himself). I will go into his Armenian texts at length and these are especially interesting because they include philosophical texts from Aristotle and Porphyry, exegitical texts by Philo and medical and scientific texts besides the Biblical and Liturgical ones that he mined so deeply. However, the Renaissance was a time of librarial abundance and there can be little explanation derived from scarcity alone.

Ambrogio chose his texts carefully and contextualized them quite consciously. His language is something that we might particularize as priest talk within the larger dialect of academic Latin, common to all of Europe. This sort of speech was prone to prayer and was characterized by the Almighty's constant presence in the literate audience. In a way, we can contend that the psalm is the very mode of expression chosen by Ambrogio; that his is a voice always lifted up in praise of the Almighty's many virtues. This explains the many seemingly unmotivated asides addressed to the divinty and the overall ethical and salvational concerns regularly expressed by the author: for the Muslims are to be converted, but more important, by far, is the protection of the Christians among them so that they can develop their spiritual inheritance.

Some of this can be illustrated with material which shall be examined for its linguistic content later in this dissertation. The words of Jesus on the Cross contain a quotation in Aramaic of verses from Psalm 22. For Ambrogio, it is significant that God, Jesus, chose to speak in the Targum's Aramaic rather than the original Hebrew and that this is inserted within a Greek text and therein translated or interpreted (a word that Ambrogio frequently uses rather than translation) as had almost all the rest of Jesus' Aramaic discourse without the retention of the original (except possibly in Ambrogio's eyes within the Syriac tradition itself). Part of the reason for Ambrogio's work is manifested by the seeming confusion within the various traditions of Biblical translation and within the very early choice of the Jews themselves to use Aramaic and Greek translations and even differing spoken varieties of the original Hebrew alongside the

Hebrew text itself. The right to consider the translation as authentic is given credence by God Himself for Jesus used the Aramaic, yet the New Testament Synoptic Gospels do not agree upon the actual words or pronunciation of the text spoken by Jesus in His dying moments: **an example of Divine incoherence!**

This is a mystery that defies the simplicities of the Quranic prohibition against translation. It suggests a divine love for the hermeneutical: God seems to be saying, 'Let interpretation thrive!' This wonderment at the varieties of the same colors all of Ambrogio's book and explains his deep fascination with the linguistic permutations of common Biblical names.

For example, Armenian is mentioned in a very astute discussion of the development of homorganic consonants from ajoining vowels in various forms of common Biblical names in different languages. The context is his discussion of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic letters having the phonetic value 'yod' which often parallel cognate names possessing a fricative. His example is the name John from the New Testament: 'in istis nominibus Ioannis, & Ioannon, prima litera est de qua i presentia loquimur, & a qua facile potuit originem traxisse, quod in usum pene communem venit, ut cum in sermone materno, Ioannis, & Iuuenis nomen scribere intenimus a .g. incipimus dicentes, Giovanni, & metathesi facta .u. literae in omicron, seu mavis, & rectius, meo quidem iudicio, in omega, & in eam prolationem, qua Indi literas .Sabo. idest septimae stantiae proferre consueverunt in .o. nimirum obtusum, quod scilicet tendere in .u. videatur, ut etiam de Armenico .vuo. cum .viech. simul connexo, insuperioribus dictum fuit, Giovane, dicimus, non tamen ob hoc ultra tres syllabas protendimus.' (Ambrogio, 1539, 58)

In a paragraph discussing the various national forms of common Christian names he notes: Nam sicuti in superioribus pro .u. prosuerunt .o. sic & aures consulentes, ipsum .o. verterunt in .u. ut patet in pluribus nominibus, quae tam Graece, quam Armenice, per .os. scribuntur, a nobis per .us. proferuntur. ut Valerios, Chrysostomos, Valerius, Chrysostomus. (Ambrogio, 1539, 83) Thus, the very linguistic changes of the Personal Names wrought by their movement from language to language is a subject for both phonological and theological speculation.

However, we must return to the words uttered by God on the Cross. The context of the quotation of Jesus' dying words in the Armenian along with the other translations and originals is quite interesting. Recto 38 is entitled as an ostensible discussion of the consonants of the Indic or Ethiopic Alphabet, yet like much of Ambrogio's book it begins with a long excursus (the preceding chapter on the Greek Consonants ended with a three folio long detailed discussion of the construction and materials of his uncle Afranius' new musical instrument the phagotus). The excursus discusses comparatively the text of the Bishop of Nebbio's (Giustiniani's) Chaldaic Psalter, which contained an Arabic translation, which appears in Karshuni in Ambrogio. Thus the text of Psalm 22 (21) is compared with its variants in the Indic (Ge'ez), Hebrew, Arabic (Karshuni), Armenian, Greek, Macedonian, and Dalmatian, either from the Psalm or from its quotation in Matthew or Mark on the lips of the crucified Jesus.

The breadth of his references are best understood by a quotation of all of the transcribed texts (only the Syriac, Armenian, Greek and Hebrew are also in their original alphabets). The purpose here is to examine the apparent disagreement between the texts of different traditions of translation. He divides the material into two sets: 1. Those having the addition of the phrase 'respice me' 'Look at me; attend me' to the words of the Psalm; 2. Those traditions lacking those words. He has clearly set out two distinct textual traditions and is among the first scholars to realize the inherent lability of the translated texts of the Bible. Surprisingly he does not note from his Lectionary the Armenian interpretation of Jesus words in Matthew found just below his quoted Aramaic: **Աստուած իմ Աստուած իմ ընդէր թողեր զիս.** (Pavia MS 347, Folio recto 5) He could have then displayed that the two traditions were complicatedly intertwined even as they are in the Vulgate text itself.

Psalm 22: Ge'ez: Amlachia, amlachia: nazorani, vualmont: hhadagani:

Arabic (intepretation of Jesus' Aramaic): Alhai Alhai antar ali, lmada ia alhai tractni.

Greek (interpretation of Jesus' Aramaic): Ho theos, ho theos mu, prosches mi, ina ti encatelipes me. This text with 'prosches

mi' is not found in our modern text and is from the Septuagint Psalms

Latin: Deus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti?

Armenian: Astuz Astuz im naieaz arh is iendier tholier zis. (which he translates into Latin, Deus, Deus meus, respice ad me, quare me dereliquisti? The nuance is important as it defies the primacy of the Vulgate text.

Macedonian: Boge Boge moi vienmimi, viescuiu ostauime.

Dalmatian: Boge Boge moi vanmimi vschuiu me ostaui.

Hebrew: Eli, Eli, lamma azauthani.

Syriac: alohi, alohi lmono sbachthoni.

Chaldaic (Aramaic in Hebrew letters mistransliterated): eli eli matul ma (sic: matul ham) scbaqtani.

Arabic (Karshuni): alhai alhai lmadi tractni.

Armenian (Matthew): eli eli lama sabachthani

Greek (Matthew): hili hili lama sabchthani (sic: mistransliterated: text has 'sabachthani'). The actual present Greek text of New Testament has the following: eloi eloi lema sabchthani, but it notes Ambrogio's as a rejected reading; however, without initial aspiration.

Greek (Mark): eloi eloi lama sabachthani.

The texts display the various traditions originating in a Greek world and those originating in a Semitic tradition, knowing the Hebrew. Although St. Jerome translated from the Hebrew, he kept the Old Latin (Greek based) text of the Psalms; moreover, although the Peshitta usually followed the Greek text, the Syriac Psalms are heavily influenced by Targum and Hebrew texts. Thus we can see a clear division of the textual traditions, with Jesus' cry clearly representing the Targum. (Metzger, 1977, 286-330)

The Ge'ez material is from Potken's Psalter, whose arguments with Ambrogio over the identity of Ge'ez as the true Chaldaic were famous among scholars, see especially Postel. (1538a, 21-22)

When he finally returns to the Indic letters (he has no font for the alphabet unlike Postel and Potken), his discussion clearly assumes the genetic relations between the Semitic languages Hebrew, Syriac (Chaldaic), Arabic, and Indic (Ge'ez). The same relations are more clearly stated by Postel (1538a, folio 23) in his short description of Indic.

Thus, the meanderings here contain an implicit critique of the Church's supposedly sacrosanct Vulgate text, the first major broad comparison of Biblical translations (made possible by the recent printings referred to above) and the comparison of various transliterations (phonetizations) of an authentic quotation from God Himself embedded into the Greek texts of the New Testament. This is exceedingly radical from either the philosophical or the theological hermeneutical perspective. Jesus gives Ambrogio his method and Jesus' words on the Cross underlie Ambrogio's apologetics for his multiple comparisons. We might say that this small instance of authentic speech from another language within a divinely inspired text (the Gospels) referencing another earlier divinely inspired text (the Psalms) is a micro model of Ambrogio's work.

I would also like to refer here to another form of interpretation found in Ambrogio (Folio 161: it has been the subject of closer considerations earlier): Ambrogio's artful transformations of Biblical material to create new texts in another language (only found in his Armenian section of his last book); these are frequently macaronic and mix Latin puns with, in one case, Armenian ones. Ambrogio wrote this in the last days of his life and his taking an Emperor to task is perhaps due to his being at death’s door.

For example, the name **կարողոս.** Caroglos brings Ambrogio to thoughts about the Emperor Charles V and the wars with the Ottomans. It also brings him to make etymological speculations about the relation between that name of German origin, meaning basically 'slave, serf' and the Armenian word **կարողութաի.** Carogluthai 'capability, force, might.' The words in parentheses are the forms found in the Zohrabian text or are corrections of forms used by Ambrogio.

Paul: Ephesians 6, 11: **և կարողութաի (կարողութեամբ) զաւրութենե (զաւրութեան) նորա, եւ զգեցարուք զսպառազինութաի (զսպառազինութիւն) ~աի (Աստուծոյ): զի կարող լինիջիք կալ ընդդեմ (ընդդեմ) հնարից ռատանայի (սատանայի).** eu Carogluthai zauruthene nora, eu zgeztaruch zsparhazinuthai astuztai: zi Charogl linizich cal iend demhnarizt satanaii. (...and through his mighty power, and clad yourself in God's armory so that you will be able to fend off Satan's deceptions). Satan is an emendation in the Armenian text and in the transcription; Ambrogio has incorrectly divided the words of 'ienddem hnarizt.' This is another of the few examples of an incorrect division of words.

Ambrogio enjoyed Macaronic punning, especially if he could turn the Biblical text into a modern and relevant admonition for the good of Christianity. Thus, the Pauline text can be modified to express the following Latin prayer for the Emperor Charles: Ista beati Pauli verba a nobis hoc in loco adducta sunt, ut Carolus invictissimus Imperator noster in cordis sui penetralibus inserta, **Առէսցէ զսպառալինութաին (զսպառազինութիւնն) աստուծայ (Աստուծոյ) զի կարոլ լինիցի.** Arhæsztæ zsparhalinuthain astuztai. Zi Carol linizti. Accipi at armatutam Dei, ut potens sit: And the Emperor's victory will bring the following Divine restitution: resistere improbitati perfidorum adversariorum, & barbaris hostibus, & fidei Christianae inimicissimo Othomano, quod facillime (meo quidem iuditio) efficiet. Si **զկեցեալ (զգեցեալ) զռահն (զրահն) արդարութենե (արդարութեան), և հագուցեալ զոտս պատրաստութաբ (պատրաստութամբ) աւետարանին խաղաղութենե (խաղաղութեան).** Zcezteal zrhahn ardaruthene, eu haguzteal zots parastuthab (corrected in emendations to 'patrastuthab') auetaranin hhaglagluthene. Indutus loricam iustitiae, & calciatus pedes in praeparatione Euangelii pacis: Vere inquam illius pacis qua cum depositis odiis, & vindicandi cupiditate refrigerata, Christianissimos Reges amplexetur, nec caeteros Christiani nominis caractere insignitos, adfui benevolentia trahat, nec patiat ab exercitu, caeterisque iuri redundo perfectis tyrannice, ac spretis sacratissimis legibus vexari, rapinas bonorum, virginum raptus, incestusque &

subiectorum cedes, atque tormenta publicis arcenda Imperialibus edictis prohibuerit, pietatem & mansuetudinem, potius quam faevitiam exercendam curaverit.

Although the noted mistakes mar the effect, this is Ambrogio's first and last very hesitant Armenian composition and its theme is very illuminating; he like so many Christian non-Armenians, who were meeting this people for the first time, wished that they might be defended by their Christian brethern from the Muslims' unjust usage. This was the theme of his first description of the Armenians on folio recto 142 and it remains the same here. It is a prayer, something common to his priestly office, and it is a claim on the commonalities of Christian brotherhood, something that his entire life was dedicated to: he had been Papal Investigator of Oriental Orthodoxy (even if we might think of his office as trying to entice the Oriental Christians into a conniving Roman fold).

All of his codices' empty pages are filled with various Armenian exercises including his short passages of Latin written out in the Armenian alphabet. Most of his work in languages other than Latin had been translation or interpretation, and even most of his Latin writings fell into these two broad categories. The Armenian composition above is directly modelled on St. Paul, but it moves beyond sufficiently to impress us with its originality. We possess nothing similar in Ambrogio's other languages. This may be because of the loss of this sort of evidence due to the destruction of so much of his earlier work; there is another possibility: Ambrogio may have identified himself with the Armenians and their plight far more than he had with any other Christian people. Death would soon end this new direction of his (using his languages for original compositions), but it is noteworthy that this adventure had a likely Armenian provenance.

This convolution of translations and interpretations is far more than a mere composition: the translated text, which is Ambrogio's own possession as a priest steeped in its meaning, is translated (moved and altered) from Armenian into Latin and then back into Armenian. Its meaning is constantly referring itself to the original text of Paul, in whatever translation, and it moves into its present purpose of admonition against the Emperor's deadly inaction without leaving its scriptural center. This complexity resembles that implicit in Hermann Broch's collaborative (with Jean Starr Untermeyer) translation of his own *The Death of Virgil*. He comments on the process in his essay of

1955, 'Some remarks on the philosophy and technique of translation.' There he argues that there is a Logos or logical universal 'meta-language' which makes all translation possible, while the Archetype, the unique qualities of the original language, can only be adumbrated or related to similar, yet different Archetypes developed within the other tongue. Thus, translation is intimate analogy to our private inability to clothe our own thoughts in understood wording, for the process of translation of thought itself bedevils the dying Virgil, whose fevered conceptions begin to resemble our quotation of Levinas above and somewhat like a dying Ambrogio's changes wrought on Paul's text: 'The very voice of the incomprehensible, which expresses the incomprehensible, was in itself incomprehensible...' (Broch, 1945, 202-205; 1955; Steiner, 1975, 320-321).

Grammatical and phonological materials are basically all put to religious and prayerful uses. The rationalist Biblical critiques that could be made from the above material are not made explicit in Ambrogio and his mystic hermeneutic that can easily reconcile the incongruous would make it unlikely that he was conscious of any such conflict. It is not particularly significant that one of the Armenian texts that Ambrogio acquired was Aristotle's 'On Interpretation,' he knew the original very well and he usually sought out a book that he knew in another language when searching for books in a new one. Aristotle's text was not hermeneutical in sensu strictu but rather logical and had found a very appreciative home in the bosom of Medieval philosophy and theology from the time of Boethius (Collinge, 1990, 802; Sorabji, 1992, 13-25); Ambrogio's interpretive tendencies were molded after the Jewish ones, which would have included the Aristotelian rules among those used in 'Peshat' or exegesis alone. The deepest realm of understanding could only be uncovered by the closest examination of the asyllabic atoms (the letters) and their syllabic molecules (the words) of divine revelation: a study that would have surely alarmed the great Stagirite himself.

George Steiner, nevertheless, has suggested that the Hermeneutic of translation is fourfold hermeneia (Aristotle's term for 'discourse that signifies because it interprets' [Steiner, 1975, 303] and which 'word' is found in the very title of the above, 'On Interpretation': Peri[h]ermenias): '...of trust, of penetration (aggression), of embodiment and of restitution (reciprocity and balance...' (303). All of these are present in the work of

Ambrogio, although the aggressive side of his nature was exceedingly repressed and it is difficult to find a trace of it; our philosophical parallels have suggested the trust, embodiment and restitution that Ambrogio offered to his readers, his texts and his beloved Oriental Christian brethern.

Part II :Ambrogio's Intentions: the Aesthetic and Epistemology Entailed in the Presentation of Multilingual Exercises

The translations of the Armenian and Syriac texts included in this section clearly bring into question the often cited post Reformational criticism that the Catholics had always slavishly followed the Vulgate Text of Jerome. However, with Foucault (1969, vii.), we must remember that the our readings of the actualities of any particular time in history are fraught with our anachronistic speculations. Ambrogio lived through the beginnings of the Reformation without any possible notion of its consequences; a necessary ignorance probably equalling that of Luther or Melanchthon. What he was free to pursue was defined within a universal Christian space that he could not conceive of collapsing or dividing. He was profoundly ecumenical in every way, for he was active in the movement to bring the Orthodox back into the common fold and he could not imagine that the Lutheran breach might be a permanent one. Thus, his biblical and scholarly outlook, like that of an Erasmus or More, contained all of the possibilities of a Catholic or a Protestant academic in a later age without realizing any contradiction between the various strata. All of this would be teased into differing and complementary sets in the decades to come, but in Ambrogio's days the contemporary troubles would not have been defined as the beginnings of the hermetic cleft between a Catholic and a Protestant World; indeed, the Catholic World subsequently created would have been as alien to Ambrogio's imagination as the Protestant one.

Ambrogio translated his scriptural texts into very literal Latin that often contrasts with the traditonal Latin version. What he offers readers is further evidence for the variations within the various traditions of scriptural translation and interpretation. This is a topic with wide ranging consequences, but we will concentrate here upon its meaning for

Ambrogio's epistemological and ethical conceptions of the learner: this will include his pedagogy, but will range far beyond that narrow conception.

Recent philosophical discussions have repeatedly attacked reason's perogative as a special resident of the 'learning space' presented by minds in dialogue. It is popular in the works of Derrida (1978, 79-143) and Rorty (1982, 171-174) to place a yawning gap between the adherents to 'reason and its universality' (the classic philosophers, humanists, Bakhtin, and Habermas) and those who rely upon 'conversation and pragmatism' (the first mentioned authors). This is however a false dichotomy, for there is great pragmatism and dialogue within reason (properly constituted) itself as clearly discerned by Habermas and Bakhtin and by those who would defend the humanists of the Renaissance using their works (see Guss, 1991, 1156-1161).

For reason can be seen as a most powerful negotiator in the pursuit of knowledge: reason as a discursive practice as found within Milton's 'free and open encounter' and Habermas' 'ideal speech situation.' (Guss, 1991, 1156) While it is unnecessary to defend Milton in this matter as he clearly stated the learner's right to have all the facts, the good, the bad and the ugly in his *Areopagitica*, it is often assumed that his was a minority view and that the largest proportion of the European population was sunk in intellectual syncophancy to various religious or political institutions of the time and that this was especially true within the Catholic realms. It would, therefore, be enlightening to examine the epistemological credo (necessarily an ethical one as well) of a Renaissance Catholic Orientalist, who was in intimate contact with the supposedly heretical churches of the East and was actively disseminating their theological and philosophical views through the collection and translation of their manuscripts of liturgy and scripture.

How he went about this process would seem a key to how he conceived of the constitution of knowledge itself and of how he thought that knowledge could best be interpreted toward some more truthful state within the dialogue of scholars presenting that knowldge to each other and to the wider world. The texts under scrutiny (it is always some text/s or statement/s that provide/s a launching point) are Biblical and liturgical and

their translation and interpretation have been a major focus of academic existence since the times of King David or of the earliest Church Fathers.

It is a curiosity of these texts that they have always been the subject of translation; the Jewish service itself requires a variant spoken realization of the written text of the Torah. As Jewish diasporas spread, the Targum (an Aramaic interpretation of the Torah) and the Septuagint (one of many Greek interpretations) became standardized within one or another community alongside the Hebrew. Most important in all of this labor was the concept of the community of scholars who would undertake it; while the liturgy was limited to the tribe/clan of priests, the Levites, knowledge of the scriptures themselves was required of all male members of the community, for law, liturgy and ritual practice were empty without the compelling context of the scriptures that gave them their meaning. This aspiration for learning within an entire community was only elsewhere seen within the Hellenistic neighbors of the Jews and these peoples very strongly influenced one another's developments; however, the Greeks sought after knowledge through a number of disparate categories and schools, while the Jewish pursuit of understanding was focussed and channeled into the critical analysis of a slowly closing (becoming canonized) library of accepted texts. These two approaches were highly complementary, for pilpulistic skills could find great application in the description of the physical world, while Hellenic scientific speculations made their way into the Talmudic repertoire. (Steiner, 1975, 348; Ruderman, 1988, 12-25; Metzger, 1977, 3-30)

Thus, the Christian fathers found themselves building on a rich Judeo-Hellenic interpretational, philosophical and linguistic foundation. It is just this sort of particularism within a very faithful and criticized tradition of translation for the enlightenment of its wider community that led to the requirement that each Christian ethnos have its own translation of the Scriptures and the liturgy.

Each translation and its ancillary critical apparati (often themselves translated from one or another tradition) created another branch upon a common trunk, which had always had differing sustenance from the roots of oral/written texts (memory is a typography [Carruthers, 1990, 170-171]): oral/written traditions, oral/written liturgies, oral/written critical/explanatory commentaries, and oral/written legal/historical examples. This scriptural

tree provided the integral and encompassing subject matter for the learning of languages while realizing the Christian way of life. Translations kept the word order and grammar of the original as much as possible because the text was the word of God, while giving that word the widest broadcast within the community, which required that the translation be comprehensible to the average person: the Bible within whatever language has never been some gnostic mysterium for an esotericized elite, although a number of such interpretational corpora have been created from it.

The founding thinker of modern Hermeneutics, Hans–Georg Gadamer clearly sets out the problem in the following words: ‘Speech is always spoken to or before someone, and the same is true for the art of writing and thus for the art of reading…Clearly there is a problem here, one that lurks behind all discussions of this subject: I refer to the dissociation of writing and reading, which fundamentally modifies understanding. This is the basic hermeneutical question: how can one bridge the distance between the meaning of a speech as it is fixed by writing and as it is understood through reading?…In the *Phaedrus*, Plato says that rhetoric can offer an essential contribution to the discovery and transmission of insight and knowledge. Plato, I believe, shows that true rhetoric cannot be separated from what he calls dialectic—in the original sense, which can be understood as the art of leading a conversation. This art is really the art of agreement...Prose is a hermeneutical term. The word suggests that there is an art of language not only when a poetic text's feet are bound together and linked up to meter but also when a text treads the footpath of thought.' (Gadamer, 1983, 149-150; Gadamer, 1992, 348) Clearly Gadamer is speaking about an ethical aspect of the writer-reader continuum.

Thus, all of the above both liberated and constrained Ambrogio’s approaches to teaching his colleagues the languages presented. The same text appears again and again in foreign and Latin dress, but the Latin interpretation preserves the words of the various originals as accurately as possible: the tenses, nominalizations, cases, and so on are transparently provided by the Latin. The Vulgate was then known to all users of the book so that it could act as a referential template high-lighting the new information for the reader. Examples of this technique will be presented below, but the point to be

emphasized is that the learning process was framed by Ambrogio so that it could take any particular reader to quite different and personal realizations according to his/her own background and interests.

To quote Prof. Guss, Milton argued that the learner/dialoguist should have ‘reason as freedom; and alternative to violence--that is the promise of enlightenment--reason, not prescription; persuasion, not threats (1991, 1157).’ This is also the ethical and epistemological result of Ambrogio’s method. He discusses alphabetical forms and sounds at great length and, therein, raises a few morphological and syntactic peculiarites of the languages he discusses, but when he prepares his linguistic exercises, which are presented for Armenian and Syriac/Chaldaic alone, or writes a short but useful colloquial grammar, this for Arabic, he focusses upon the learning habits of a brothehood of scholars and uses their common knowledge (the Bible and Liturgy in Latin and in Greek) to guide them through new languages.

The aesthetic arrangement of the texts (made possible largely due to printing) and the clarity of the fonts of the various alphabets, which he designed himself from his best manuscripts, were part too of the epistemological intentions of the author. My recreations of these pages display the textual and interpretive information as accurately as possible; however, due to the formatting restrictions of my fonts and the dissertation itself, it is not possible to have common Syriac and Armenian texts on facing pages.

The learning methods of Ambrogio must have been heavily influenced by his experience of teaching the Maronite Deacon Elia Latin as the Deacon taught him Syriac and Arabic: Ambrogio, aloud and in writing, translated the Deacon’s recitation into both Hebrew and Latin (Ambrogio, 1539, 14^{rv}; Penna, 1946, 147; Strothmann, 1971, 4-7). This version of Ambrogio's instruction in Oriental languages is confirmed by Albrecht Widmanstetter, who heard it from Ambrogio's mouth. (Widmanstetter, 1555, ix-xx) Such a mutual learning process--an oral recitation and translation of the divine liturgy was a model that we can argue is at the heart of the Ambrogian intentions for this book. Moreover, the traces of Ambrogio’s learning methodology left in his manuscripts, Latin glosses, marginalia, word and phrase divisions, are carefully recreated in an enhanced and regular patterning in his printed text (Strohmeyer, 1999b).

The actual examples of Syriac prayers, like their facing Armenian versions, have a number of anomalous forms that might have been considered the ignorant errors of Ambrogio, but taking into account his remarkable accuracy in copying the peculiar forms found in his extant Armenian manuscripts, it is more likely that these anomalies have a similar origin or are the remnant of a special pronunciation adopted by Ambrogio's teacher, Elia. The major differences between Ambrogio's transcriptions and the presently understood manner in which Syriac is to be read involve the transcription of 'silent' or 'softened letters' (*b* can be pronounced *v* in certain contexts, for instance). Ambrogio transliterates (with some surprising exceptions) 'silent' final 'yods' and internal nasals; he does not distinguish between the gomal and the 'glottal-stop' (most often unpronounced), transliterating both as 'g.' Finally, he uses a mixed vowelling system that uses both dots and small Greek vowels. These mixed systems are found in manuscripts and the pronunciation of 'silent' letters might be an artificial system either used traditionally to teach Syriac to priests, whose language was normally Arabic, or a system devised by Elia himself to insure that Ambrogio correctly spelled the texts as they were recited (see the description of their mutual learning sessions above). Thus, Ambrogio's usages that seem to defy linguistic norms may themselves be due to a pedagogical methodology, using an artificial spelling pronunciation rather like the English, now standardized, /ɔftɛn̩/ for /ɔffɨn̩/, mutually constructed between Ambrogio and his teacher Elia, as both of them may have aimed at written accuracy rather than pronunciational precision.

The differences between the Latin interpretations of the Syriac and Armenian texts will be small, seemingly insignificant, yet this is exactly what would expect given the closeness required when translating ‘divinely’ inspired texts; however, the differences would have been the immediate focus of a contemporary and active reader’s attention. The bases of this alien world view are very hard to recreate or even analogize for a modern reader except by referring to present day universal texts such as Shakespeare: in productions from the same play in various different languages and locations, we immediately sense the importance in a Medieval Japanese context of Kurasawa’s interpretation of ‘King Lear’ so that his daughters become sons and his world a Buddhist

one. A change of a word or the inversion of a verse could have similar effects upon a Christian of the Ambrogio's times.

Freedom lies at the heart of Ambrogio's communicative method. Like Habermas, Ambrogio's reason is intersubjective and is realized through the use of the book in the act of communication: '... the cognitive-instrumental aspect of reason is put in its proper place as a part of a more encompassing communicative rationality.' (Habermas, 1984, 390) Ambrogio's book lacks pro- or prescriptions because it assumes the identity and the skills of its reader, who would have been a far more common Renaissance type than we can easily appreciate today. As we look into the two texts chosen as interlineated (original/transliteration/Latin gloss) exercises that are presented on facing pages (one page Syriac, the other Armenian), the Ave Maria and the Pater Noster, we immediately note that these are exactly a liturgical and a liturgical-scriptural text that a priest is required and expected to recite many times per day. Thus, Ambrogio is encouraging multi-lingual rosaries as a means to language contemplation and acquisition.

The Latin text of the 'Ave Maria': Ave, Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Iesus. Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis nostrae, Amen. (Missale Romanum, 1962, 496).

I would like to thank Prof. Istvan Perczel of the Central European University for his kind advice on the Syriac texts used by Ambrogio:

ܛܝܒܘܬܐ	ܡܠܝܬ	ܡܪܝܡ	ܠܟܝ	ܫܠܡ
taibutho	maliath	Mariam	lech	Slam
gratia	plena	Maria	tibi	Pax

ܘܡܒܪܟܘ	ܒܢܫܐ	ܐܢܬܝ	ܘܡܒܪܟܬܐ	ܥܡܟܝ	ܡܪܝܐ
vambarecu	bnese	anth	vambarectho	gamech	morio
& benedictibus	in mulieribus	tu	& benedicta	tecum	dominus

ܡܪܬܝ	ܡܫܝܚܐ	ܝܫܘܥ	ܕܒܟܪܣܟܝ	ܦܐܪܐ
marthi	msihho	Iesuga	dabcarsech	phiro
domina	messias	Iesus	qui in ventre tuo	fructus

ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܐܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

daloho emo quadistho btultho Maria

Dei mater sanctissima virgo Maria

ܐܬܟܫܦܝ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܚܛܝܐ ܗܫܐ ܘܒܫܥܬܐ

vabsogtho hoso hhatoie hhlophain ethcaasph

& in hora nunc peccatoribus pro nobis ora

ܕܡܘܬܢ ܐܡܝܢ

Amin dmautan

Amen mortis nostrae

ուրախլեր մարիամ. լի շնորհօք տեար

Vrahhler Mariam. li snorhoch tear

Letare Maria. plena gratia dominus

ընդ քեզ. օրհնեալ ես դու ի կանայս. և

iendchez. Ωrhneal es du i canais. eu

tecum. benedicta es tu in mulieribus. et

աւրհնեալ է պտուղ որովայն քո. տեար

aurhneal æ ptugl orΩain cho. tear

benedictus est fructus ventris tui. dominus

մեր իեսուս քրիստոս. սրբուհի աստուածածին

mer Iesus Christos. Srbuhi astuxaxin

noster Iesus Christos. Sancta dei genitrix

միշտ կոյս մարիամ. Աղօթեա վասն մեր

mist cois Mariam. Aglothea vasn mer

semper virgo Maria. Ora pro nobis

զմելաւորքս այժմ և ի ժամն զմահու

zmelauorchs aizm eu i zamn zmahu

peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis

մերում. Ամեն.

merum. Amen.

nostrae. Amen.

(Vulgate Matthew 6, 9-13) Pater noster, qui es in caelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo, et in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nosra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܦ ܡܪܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ

Ithalmidauhi moran daaeleph Zzlutho

discipulos suos dominus noster quam docuit Oratio

ܐܒܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܢܬܩܕܫ ܫܡܟ ܬܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ

malcuthoch tithe smoch nethquadas dbasmaio Abun

regnum tuum adveniat nomen tuum sanctificet qui in coelis Pater noster

ܢܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܒܐܪܥܐ

barago oph dbasmaio aicano zzebionoch nehuae

in terra ita in coelo sicut voluntas tua Fiat

ܗܒ ܠܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܣܘܢܩܢܢ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܘܫܒܘܩ

vasbuq iaumono dsunquanon lahhmo hablan

& remitte quotidie que sufficiat nobis panem da nobis

ܠܢ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܘܚܛܗܝܢ ܐܝܟܢ (sic) ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ

hhnan doph aicano vahhtohain hhaubain lan

nos quid ita sicut & peccata nostra debita nostra nobis

ܫܒܩܢ ܠܚܝܒܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܥܠܢ ܠܢܣܝܘܢܐ ܐܠܐ

elo lnosiuno taglan vlo lhhaiobain sbaqn

Sed ad tentandum ducas nos & ne debentibus nobis remittimus

ܦܨܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܕܝܠܟ ܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ

malcutho hi ddiloch Metul biso men phazo

regum est tuum Quoniam malo a libera nos

ܘܚܝܠܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܥܠܠܡ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ:

amin olmin loglam vtesbuhhto vhhailo

Amen saeculorum insaecula & laus & virtus

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս դես սուրբ եղիցի անուն

Hair mer or iercins des surb eglizzi anum

Pater noster qui in coelis es sanctum sit nomen

քո. եկեսցէ արքայութաի քո եղիցին կամք քո

cho eceszzae archaiuthai cho eglizzin camch cho

tuum Veniat regnum tuum Fiant placita tua

որպէս յերկինս և իերկրի. զհաց մեր հանապազորդ

orpaes iercins eu iercri Zhazt me hanapazord

sicut in coelo & in terra Panem nostrem supersubstantialem

տուր մեզ այսաւր և թող մեզ զպաարտիս

tur mez aisaur eu thogl mez zpaartis

da nobis hodie & remitte nobis debita

մեր որպէս և մեք թողումք մերոց պարտպանաց

mer orpaes eu mech thoglumch merozt partpanazt

nostra sicut & nos remittimus nostris debitoribus

և մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութաի այլ

eu mi tanir zmez I phorxuthai ail

& ne ducas nos in tentationem Sed

փրկեայ զմեզ ի չարէ զի քո է արքայութաի

pharceai zmez i zarae zi cho ae archaiuthai

libera nos a malo Quem tuum est regnum

և զաւրութաի և փառք յաւիտեանս Ամէն

eu zauruthai eu pharhch iauiteans. Amen.

& virtus & gloria, in saecula. Amen.

(Ambrogio, 1539, 185-187)

After these two, highly formatted texts, a number of others are offered, but the Syriac or Armenian is given its native form without transliteration and the translation is found on the facing page. These translations are sufficiently close, however, so that they can be profitably compared with the Vulgate (I will give the different readings in bold):

Syriac, Luke 1, 46-55: **Magnificat** anima mea dominum. Et exultauit spiritus meus, in deo salutari meo. Quia respexit in humilitatem ancillae suae, **ecce enim ex hoc bonum dabunt mihi progenies omnes.** Quia fecit mihi magna, qui potens est, & **sanctum nomen eius**. Et misericordia eius **a generatione & progenie super illos qui timent eum.** Fecit potentiam in brachio suo, **&** dispersit superbos **in cogitatione cordis eorum.** Deposuit potentes **de sedibus**, & exaltauit humiles. Esurientes impleuit bonis, & diuites dimisit inanes. Suscepit israel puerum suum, & **recorda. e** misericordiae suae. Sicut locatus est **cum patribus nostris, cum Abraham**. & **cum semine** eius in saecula.

Armenian, Luke 1, 46-55: **Magnificabit** anima mea dominum. Et exultauit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo. Quia respexit in humilitatem ancillae suae. Quia **ecce post hoc beatam dicent me omnes generationes**. Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est, & sanctum **est** nomen eius. Et misericordia eius **a progenie in progenies timentibus** eum. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo, dispersit superbos **mente cordis sui.** Deposuit potentes de **sede**, & exaltauit humiles. Esurientes impleuit bonis, & diuites dimisit inanes. Suscepit israel puerum suum, & **recordatus** misericordiae suae. Sicut locatus est **ad patres nostros Abraham.** & **semini** eius in saecula.

Vulgate, Luke 1, 46-55: Magnificat anima mea Dominum. Et exultauit spiritus meus, in deo salutari meo. Quia respexit in humilitatem ancilae suae, ecce enim **ex hoc beatum me dicent omnes generationes.** Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est, & sanctum nomen eius. **Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum.** Fecit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit superbos **mente cordis sui.** Deposuit potentes **de sede**, & exaltauit humiles. Esurientes impleuit bonis, & diuites dimisit inanes. Suscepit Israel puerum suum, **& recordatus misericordiae suae**. Sicut locatus est **ad patres nostros Abraham & semini eius** in saecula.

Obviously, the greatest differences are found in the Syriac text, while the few distinctions between the Armenian and the Latin are noted, but argue for a close translation of the Greek in both cases.

The transliteration/translation or the simple translation allowed the Latin reader to gauge the distinct interpretations of the common text shared by all Christians and it also allowed her/him to identify the grammatical basics of the languages in question without reference to a clumsy set of grammatical or morphological notes. Even the reader, who paid attention ot the Latin translation alone, would have been profoundly introduced to the theological and interpretational world of Eastern Christianity through its basic reading of the scriptures. The intention again is to grant a sort of equity to the reader: the texts are equally treated; the aesthetic of their presentation is equivalent and self explanatory; and the Oriental peoples who are represented by these texts are equally well treated in the explanations within the text and given an even balance of texts and commentary. The reader is given little bias that might alter the potential objectivity that would arise out of his subjective experience. The Bakhtinian 'polyphony' of the text which represents a harmony between reader, writer and content: 'an idea is inseparable from polyphonic dialogical interaction and cannot be said to exist outside or apart from it' (Nikulin, 1998, 382; Bakhtin, 1984, 21), is a harmony that seems unavailable until one starts to use the book as it was intended.

What Ambrogio writes about the nations and ethnicities behind the texts is always complementary and ethically nuanced, yet as I have shown in my examination of the material presented about the Armenians, the facts as given by Tabrizi Armenians about their Church and nation may not be very accurate at all and may be a text fabricated according to European expectations in order to use those expectations for a present, exigent purpose (in this case to garner immediate and future aid from the Pope). None of this necessarily reflects badly on either Ambrogio or the exiled Armenians, who must survive in a Rome which has mythic expectations of its Oriental brethern; it does however tell us that Ambrogio's reader is being presented with authenticity (always intended by the author) at many levels as he/she takes part in the dialogue which the text requires (Strohmeyer, 1999b).

Ambrogio's epistemology and ethics are opaque until the reader joins him through the book in the adventure of learning. That learning is most effective if the reader, like Ambrogio, is a priest with a priest's training and memorial stock of carefully rehearsed texts. When this ensemble is fully present, Ambrogio's intentions are clarified and their deep respect towards the readers' and the texts' freedom becomes evident.

Part III: The Semiotics of Teseo Ambrogio's Alphabetical Hermeneutics

There were truly only two distinguishing inventions of the Renaissance: at its beginning, perspective painting and at its end, the well-tempered scale and polyphony. These two organizational principles of art and music continue to characterize the Western world against other cultural ambits. The age was not forward looking; it had its sights firmly on the glories of the past and its very name reminds us that it was a rebirth of presumably ancient realities that were shared with the world of Islam as well as much of the rest of the Old World. What distinguished it from its recent past was the sudden abundance of materials available to the scholar because of printing (a Medieval invention): the weight of new information would slowly force reluctant minds into new paths, but that would be a slow process and most great thinkers of the early Enlightenment would continue to compartmentalize their worlds: Newton's preoccupation with Biblical hermeneutics, for example, took up as large a part of his working life as did his mathematics or physics. (Shumaker, 1982, 9-13; Grafton, 1992, 23-35; Cowe, 1991, 278-279; Kuntz, 1981, 10-20; Huinzinga, 1926, 289-300)

What we might consider Medieval superstition was believed as widely in the 16th century as in the 12th. The world was a system of signs that had always three fields of interpretation: the natural, the astral, and the spiritual. Each level of interpretation augmented and influenced the other and truth was found more often, it was believed, in the intersection of all three. (Secret, 1961, 130-132; Ervine, 1995, 149-155; Gehl, 1993, 1-11; Ruderman, 1988, 25-30)

For Teseo Ambrogio (1469-1540) and most of his contemporaries, God was literally one of the physical writers of the Bible, in which was to be found the keys to the

questions raised by the study of humankind and the natural world; however, He had also written those answers into reality during creation and had provided another text within the heavens. In Koriun's biography of Mashtots, or rather Moves of Khoren's version of the story, it is the hand of God (or his angel) that finally writes out the Armenian alphabet; similarly, God's hand wrote out the commandments for Moses. In Ambrogio's final chapter, he describes an alphabet written on a tablet by the ethereal hand of a demon for a Spoletan mage. What was true for Moses or Mashtots was equally true for a 16th century scholar.

Alphabets were tools descended from that first God given tool, the ur-alphabet. Some thought it Hebrew and the *Zohar* (the chief text of Jewish and Christian Kabbalistic study [Secret, 1964, 1-10; Postel, 1538b, i.-iii.; Kuntz, 1981, 10]) explained creation itself through the sacred writing of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet (block Aramaic in actual fact) in combinations of divine power. (Senner, 1989, 10-24; Borst, 1957, I: 15-42, IV: 2004-2047) Others believed the Hebrew Bible itself argued for the primacy of Chaldaic, for Abram was from Ur of the Chaldees and called himself a wandering Aramaean, and all mankind had to be descended from the post-deluvian survivors who had come down from the mountains of Ararat, in the land of the Armenians, who lived near the Chaldaeans and whose language was considered a Semitic one by Bibliander in the 16th century and still considered such by Ambrogio's biographer Terenzio in the mid 19th. (Metcalf, 1980, 323-333; Terenzio, 1862, 2-10) Thus, there was no clear path to the truth and the very identity of the Chaldaic spoken by Abram was unknown. (Wakefield,1524,184-185 ; Shumaker, 1972, 136-137; Postel, 1538a, 11; Strohmeyer, 1995a,)

The modern distinction between the letter and the sound was not one consistently made in the Renaissance: Becanus, who believed that the ancient Cimbri (of Belgium) were the children of Gomer, one of Japheth's sons, and thus their language, Flemish, likely Adam's, argued his etymology of Cimbri from Gomer on two bases, that the word Gomer underwent an internal vowel change (o>i), which is common to Hebrew grammatical processes, and that the Latin 'C' is a variant of Greek Γ, which derives from Hebrew ג; therefore the change from 'G' to 'C' need not be viewed as a phonological

change at all. (Metcalf, 1974, 240-257) Postel used often similar arguments to prove that the Gauls spoke a language closely related to Hebrew although the purpose of the exercise was as much political (he needed Francis I's patronage) as philological. (Launay, 1981)

Greater knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew texts themselves raised problems for those formerly confined to a Latinate world: scholars found that Judaism used two sacred languages: Hebrew for the Torah and Mishnah and Aramaic for some of the Apocrypha and Talmud. They also learned that the Syriac, Samaritan, and Nestorian languages were themselves close to Biblical Aramaic. The Hebrew alphabet was not the original one used in Ancient Israel. but a development of the chancellory Aramaic of the Old Persian Empire; certainly the alphabet used by the Samaritans was more archaic. All of these facts did not ease anyone's way along the path to truth. (Postel, 1538a, 11-12; Ambrogio, 1539, 16-20)

One of the purposes of Ambrogio's book is to air his life-long conviction that the Chaldaic of Abram was the same language known as Chaldaean (he had spent a good deal of his youth arguing against Potken's identification of that language with Ethiopic) and that that language was the divine tongue spoken in the Garden and by those preserved in the Ark. Most of his arguments have to do with the direction that the writing took: Chaldaean is written in the same direction as Hebrew and Arabic, while Ethiopic is written in the manner of Latin and Greek; other arguments include those referred to already from Genesis. (Ambrogio, 1539, 14v-16r)

Ambrogio, moreover, spent much of his clerical life arranging for the proper reentry of the Chaldaean-Nestorians into the Roman fold (actually accomplished in 1555 some fourteen years after his death). It was during this investigative process (it was crucial to assure that no heretical doctrine was maintained) that he both learned the language and became a fanatical advocate of that church's primacy. (Penna, 1946, 143-148; Graf, 1944-1953)

Teseo Ambrogio's book is a comparative study of alphabets and only incidentally, of the languages written in them. As we see from the table of contents in the Introduction, some of the alphabets presented are magical ciphers and demonic writings:

his desire is more to know how God wrote than how Adam spoke. His information finds its way into many contemporary and later studies, but none of these use quite the same organizational principles as Ambrogio's. (Browsma, 1957, 145-148; Feydit, 1982; Sampson, 1985, 47-51)

Guillaume Postel (1538a) describes all of the alphabets and languages found in the first chapter (he used Ambrogio's texts for the Armenian and Chaldaic), but he does not parallel Ambrogio's division of alphabets into vowels and consonants, or rather his vowels are very much those we might expect under that rubric; moreover, Postel (much more the applied linguist in this book) explains the supralinear vowelling systems found in Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew while Ambrogio ignores these systems that fly in the face of his own classifications until a later part of his book when he equally closely describes them (Ambrogio, 1539, 78-85). For Ambrogio, the pointed vowels are not original to the divine alphabet, but are helps created in history and, therefore, do not have Divine validity no matter how much pedagogical and practical importance they might possess. We should, however, note that Postel in his haste and concision makes gross errors of identification, such as, calling Coptic, Georgian: a mistake that the careful Ambrogio could never have made. (Postel, 1538a, 27-28)

Early in the 17th century, Francisco Rivola wrote the first Armenian Grammar in Latin (1624) and he used Ambrogio for his texts and many of his grammatical notations; however, again we find a very conventional taxonomy of the Armenian vowels and consonants. Clemens Galanus has no less prosaic phonology in his grammar of 1645.

Why then does Ambrogio so vastly enlarge the vowel repertoire of Armenian and of all the Semitic languages he cites? The answer is seen only from the divine point of view: if all languages are at base one and divine gifts based upon the original perfect language of God, then all alphabets are equally unitary and obscurely maintain an underlying divine schema. (Shapiro, 1983, 2-18; Shaumyan, 1987, 6-10; Greim, 1983, 1-9; Collinge, 1990, 701-717)

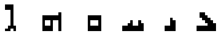
If we turn to our Appendix , we see the set of vowels that Ambrogio posits for the alphabets described. The Piercean interpretant of the system Ambrogio lays out is a divine set of rules that organize all of the alphabets (signs and objects in the Piercean

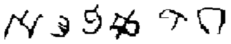
sense) in an atemporal nexus: thus a Greek's vowel's origin from a Chaldaean letter makes that letter a vowel as well. It is noted that Coptic Ϩ's status as a vowel is defended because of its similar shape and sound with the Armenian Ե, which is in its turn a vowel because of its supposed origin from the Semitic הֵ which in turn is the origin of Greek η. There is no vector of time in any of these relationships because we are in the divine realm. All of this motivates Ambrogio's mistaken multiple values for that Armenian letter (Ե ie, gie, hie/i, g, h). (See chapter IV; *Introductio....* 143) The explanations for the vowel-like characters of Armenian Ի, Է follow the same lines and need no further explication. (Shapiro, 1991, 116-119; Pierce, 1905, 161-162; Thayer, 1981, 493-495)

As has already been said, Ambrogio's section on the etymological reconstruction of the divine alphabet does not stop him from describing quite contrary information about the vowels of Semitic languages in a later chapter. The various layered systems of interpretation (natural, astral, and spiritual [divine]) allow for the non-contradiction of contradiction. (Ruderman, 1988, 10-23; Secret, 1961, 130-132)

It may be helpful to refer to a dichotomous classification of scholarship found in a history of Renaissance printing. Butler notes that there are crucial differences between the antiquarian and the historian: one collects facts for themselves, while the other uses the facts collected to create an interpretational diagram of the past's reality (Butler, 1940, 120). As we examine Ambrogio's table of contents we realize that he was better placed on the antiquarian side of the continuum connecting these two world views; it was the nature of his times that the antiquarian approach predominated, yet it is that very antiquarian material collected that allows the later historian (a Gibbon for instance) to proceed. (Butler, 1940, 120; Grafton, 1992, 1-37; Cowe, 1991, 277-278)

Appendix: The Vowels of Various Alphabets According to Teseo Ambrogio (9r-20v):

Chaldaic: 

Samaritan: 

Hebrew: א ה ו ח י ע

Latin: a e i o u (y)

Arabic: £ a b o z y }

Ethiopian (Indic): a h j v x / w

Greek: α ε η ι ο υ ω

Coptic ⲁ ⲉ ⲏ ⲓ ⲟ ⲩ ⲱ ϥ ϧ ϫ

Macedonian: a h e / i o u [w ;

Armenian: ա, ե, է, ը, ի, խ, ճ, ձ, յ, ո, վ, ւ, և, օ.

Conclusion

The examples above clearly indicate that Ambrogio sought to teach language as a contextualized synthesis of specific meanings: texts, prayers, and other divine invocations. He was not an atomist as are many modern and not so modern grammarians--he actually encouraged and expected the learner to grasp the meaning of the whole before any attempt at an analysis of the component parts of speech. This is in marked contrast to most modern teaching methods and it sides most with those who put semantics above all else in their analysis of language (Fink, 1977, 153-155; Vygotsky,

1962, 130-132). His concept of the word was greater than the mere divisions on the page and he fully realized that a word for word translation was not only imprecise, but also infelicitous.

Languages are always conveying something quite concrete to Ambrogio's learners; his methodologies are far more complex than the pale theories of today that ridiculously attempt to teach language as a subject divorced from any specifiic content (Stern, 1983, 452-463; Howatt, 1984, 265-287). Moreover, we might speculate on the nature of language as Ambrogio felt it as he examined any number of tongues in parallel. Like Vygotsky (1962, 124) he felt deeply the evolutionary dynamic of words and their meanings; words were multivalent mysteries that led the sentence down many interpretational paths both individually and in synergistic webs of reciprocal meanings. It is interesting that the recent book by Prof. Hattiangadi asks how language is possible. His answers use Popperian insights concerning the driving force of the problematic to build a theory of words as variable propositions (a set of theories) that are ever changing in relation to a shared semantic context (1987, 34-38). He also suggests that the origins of language are to be found within young primate play: an arena wherein the necessary social calls could be endlessly modified without breaking down or misusing (the-boy-who-cried-wolf syndrome) their predetermined communicative function (Hattiangadi, 1987, 187-194). Yet, another realm of play exists, the sacred, which crawls out of Vygotsky's egoistic or self-directed speech into a conversation with God. Ambrogio has built this sacred playfulness into his text and a reader or performer of the text's exercises would become quite adept at the games that may have been the origins of language.

Chapter III: The Continuation of the Ambrogian Tradition: A New View of Galanus: There is more than met Schroeder's eye

This chapter is an introductory exploration of the grammatical works of Clemens Galanus, clerico regulari sacra theologiae professore et sanctae sedis apostolicae ad Armenos missionario. (Frazee p. 129-131) There has been much negatively said about the Latinate Armenian of the 17th century without a great deal of sympathetic thought being given to its purposes and to the successes it attained within the Catholic Armenian Community.

I will start with Schroeder's castigation of the Catholic efforts, starting with Teseo Ambrogio and ending with Galanus. He had much to justly criticize, but their purposes were not his and his critical jibes appear more unjust when they are viewed with this in mind.

Schroeder's splendid work (*Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae: Antiquae et hodiernae,* Amstelodami, 1711) breaks new ground on every page; it was still a valuable reference work for Huebschmann (7. p. 128 where he misquotes Schroeder) and Meillet after almost two centuries, but it also suffered from the prejudices of its time. Schroeder was a great admirer of the publishing work of Armenian bishops, and he presents one of the most exhaustive lists of the works printed to his time (2. Introduc. pp. 39-40), but he was also a strong critic of the European works that preceded him:

> Thesei Ambros. introductio in Armenam et alias orientales Linguas...cum nihil nisi prima elementa contineat, vix hoc loco nominari meretur. Non melioris notae est Dictionarium... Francisci Rivolae, ex ore rudis Armeni exceptum...vocibus barbaris Persico-Turcicis refertum, a genuinis Haicanis vacuum...Grammaticae atque Logicae institutiones...a Clemente Galano editae, quamvis multiplici imperfectione laborent...(2. B 2-B 3).

As Bolognesi makes clear, Schroeder was one of the first to understand the historical areal influences on the Armenian vocabulary and also one of the first to clearly distinguish the dialects of the 'civil tongue' from the Grabar (8.); however, his comments on the work of Galanus assumes as mistakes what are actually quite genuine 7th century

Armenian forms. For, Galanus was basing his work on an Armenian grammatical compendium from the 13th century, probably, Erznkac'i's. (Ervine)

However, even Schroeder quotes a passage from Porphyry's *Isagoge* on page 51 of his ground-breaking book and it is a passage well known to Ambrogio as it is found on Folio 27 of MS 178 (I will note the spelling differences between the two by bracketting those of the MS). Thus, there is no stark separation between these two world-views: it is the entry of Historical vision (cultural, philosophical and linguistic), especially because of access to the text of the History of Movses of Khoren, that creates the most important distinctions:

Ὄντος ἀναγκαιόυ χρυσαόριε, καὶ εἰς την τῶν παρα Ἀριστοτέλει...

Պորփիւրի Ներածութիւն:

ելոյր ճարկաւորի՝ Քրիստաւորի է, եւ յառս Արիստոտէլի ստորոգութեցն վարդապետութի. գիտել զի՛նչ սեռ՝ եւ զի՛նչտարբերութի~ եւ զի՛նչ տեսակ զի՛նչ հատուկ՝եւ զի՛նչ պատահումն. եւ սահմանացն բացատրութի~. եւ բոլորովին յաղագս բաժանման՝ եւ ապացուցի. պիտանացուի ելոյր սոցայցն տեսութի, համառօտ, քեզ ընձեռութի~ առնելով՝ փորձեցայց ի ձեռն սակավուց իբր ներածութի~յեղանակի. զառ ծերունեացն անցանել բանիւ, եւ ի խորագունիցն ի բաց կալ ի խնդրոց, եւ պարզագունիցն (բարզագունիցն) չափաւորապէս հանդիպելով:

All of the Catholic interest in the Armenians after the 16th century was predicated upon their conversion to Catholicism: with the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, the race was on between the Protestants and the Catholics to collect all the souls available and the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire were eminently available.

That council also declared the renewed Thomism of the Spanish universities the vehicle that would maintain the orthodox purity of the faith. This Thomism was also basically Aristotelian, and naturally, the Armenian manuscripts that were most prized by the Catholics came from the translations of Aristotle of the Hellenizing School of the 6th through 9th centuries. Thus, the late Latinate Armenian schools differ somewhat from their earlier representatives in Krrnay and Kaffa in the 12th through 15th centuries: the latter translated much of the Medieval scholastic literature, but without the Renaissance discovery of the original Greek sources; the former sold a complete system that was well aware of the Renaissance finds and were therefore all the more prepared to deal with the Armenian translations of the Greek on better terms. (Nercessian; Frazee; Oudenrijn)

Nonetheless, all of this was couched in the esoteric language of theology and philosophy and that language found immediate kinship with the language of the Armenian Hellenizers. Thus, Galanus' grammar of Armenian (*Grammaticae et Logicae Institutiones Linguae Literalis Armenicae,* Romae, 1645) introduces the basic Thomistic schemata that were formalized by the Trentine reaction, and these same schemata fit wonderfully with those of the Hellenizing Armenian Aristotelians.

Galanus' grammar describes a very artificial language and he follows the Armenian text of Dionysius Thrax quite closely (a text that attempted to exemplify an Armenian dual and Armenian genders to match the Greek's!). Galanus translated his Armenian text into Latin on facing pages so that the West had a Latin translation of the Armenian Dionysius two centuries before the work of Adontz. Moreover, the first Western printing of Dionysius is 1727 so that Galanus also made available to Western scholars a Byzantine grammatical tradition that was far from commonly known. (Collinge, p. 793)

Galanus maintains the wording of the ancient Armenian, but he interposes commentaries from other Armenian authors and he updates the materials with his own commentaries. For example, the Greek and Armenian list three syllable types, but Galanus has five: two of them being subtypes of the others (3. folio 14; 6. pp. 11-12).

Moreover, I include one of Galanus's many philosophical diagrams and similar diagrams are to be found in the early Aristotelian commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (Folio 73 of MS 178), and this same Armeno-Greek diagram is copied out on the back

blank page of that manuscript with the Armenian and Greek terms given Latin glosses in Armenian letters (clear evidence of the book's use by Armenians familiar with Medieval Latin philosophy). Galanus methods and message closely adhere to what was in common Armenian usage for centuries: we are even allowed to speculate that much of what he brought may have originally been derived from Levantine sources.

What Schroeder could not see was Galanus' resurrection of the language of an ancient school. Schroeder was blessed with a familiarity with the works of the later dubbed Golden Age, Movses Khorenac'i, etc. and his grammar is of that language; Galanus is well stewed in the theological-philosophical texts of a slightly later time and his grammar reflects this, giving us the first printing of Armenian versions of Hellenistic grammatical theory.

Yet, it is exactly Schroeder's grammar that would allow the Whiston Brothers to translate the Armenian text of Khorenatsi into Latin (published in London with the Armenian text) and it would be this Enlightenment interest in Armenian history that would give Chamchian's Italian translation of his great work Europe wide notice. The Mechitarian Catholic Armenian Renaissance had a greater relationship with Schroeder and his New Julfan teachers than with the older Catholic Armenian efforts that peter out at the end of the 17th century and which have their beginnings with Ambrogio almost two centuries before.

Appendix: Galanus' Table of Contents and a Comparison of the Greek and Armenian Texts of Thrax to those of Galanus.

Poem in the introduction of Galanus:

Auctor e Constantinopoli ad Palmam Missionum
Procuratorem, Romae commorantem,

E Dita Caucasii gelido sub sydere montis

Filia sudoris Pagina missa mei:

Barbaricos sed passa diu calamosque, manusque,

Iam meliore cupit luce, manuque frui.

Hinc dicat Armenius Romae sus prima Mynervae

Munera, Palladio doctaque Caepta Foro.

Utque suae pateant sophiae Primordia Mundo,

Postulat, illa Typis Orbis in Urbe dari.

Scilicet Insipiens illinc petit ante doceri,

Errans mox rectam colligat unde Fidem.

Sume patrocinium votorum Palma sereno

Vultu; quaeque obstent, vincere nulla sine;

Semper enim Pallasve scholis, templisve Suada

Victricis Palmae Nomen, & Omen habes.

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Quae superlunt de toto philosophico cursu, nec non & cursum theologicum, in duobus subsequentibus Tomis breviter collecta, Deo favente, habebis Armene Lector. Laus Deo.

A Selection from Galanus' Grammar showing the relationships with the Greek and Armenian texts of Thrax found in Adontz.

Քերականութիւն է արհեստ ստուգաբանելոյ և ուղղագրելոյ. և մասունք նորա ուղղաւորիչք. և տեսակաւորք՝ են չորք. Ուղղագրութիւն. բանաստեղծութիւն. արտաբերութիւն. շարադրութիւն: Իսկ ուղղելիք մասունք,անիւթաւորք՝ են և չորք այլք. գիր. վանգ. բառ. բան: զգիր առաջ նորդի ՛ուղղի ուղղագրութեամբ. վանգ՝ բանաստեղծութեամբ. բառ՝ արտաբերութեամբ. ՛և բան՝ շարադրութեամբ.

կրկնակք՝ ութ. զ. և. խ. ձ. ջ. է. ռ. ց: յորոց իւրաքանչիւրոքն զզօրութիւն ունի երկուց բաղաձայնից: զա՛ հանգիտանայ սէին և դային: ռա՞

երկուց րէից: ջէ՝ ձային և ծէին: շա՛՝ երկուց սէից: խէ՝ երկուց քէից: նոյնպէս և վայլոցն:

Փաղառութիւն՝ հասարակ լինի ըստ հինգ եղանակս:

Նախ՝ յորժամ ընդունիցի զմի յերկապեսակացն. ոչ հանդիպեալ ընդ անձայնն. և ոչ ընդ կիսձայնն. որպիսի բաժակ. բա՛՝ հասարակ է:

Երկրորդ՝ եթէ վերջին վանգ բառին ուրուք իձայնաւոր երկայն աւարտիցի. և առաջին վանգ յետին բառին իձայնաւորէ սկզբնացեալ իցէ: յայնժամ երկար ձայնաւորն՝ հասարակ եղանի: որպիսի արև արեգական. ևն՝ որ երկար էր երկբարբառիւն. հասարակ լինի:

Երրորդ՝ եթէ աղոտ ձայնաւորին. կամ երկապեսակին աւոտացելոյ վերաբերիցին երկու բաղաձայնք. որոց առաջինն՝ անձայն իցէ. և երկրորդն՝ նայն: յայնժամ սուղ ձայնաւորն հասարակ լինի: ո՞րգոն. պետրոս: փափրակ: պէ՛ և փա՛ գոն հասարակ:

Չորրորդ՝ եթէ ձայնաւոր գիր վերջին վանգին սուղ իցէ. և եզերիցի անկեալ իմի բաղաձայն կամ պարզ. կամ կրկնակ. ՛և առաջին վանգ յետին բառին սկսիցի ձայնաւորաւ: յայն ժամ սուղ ձայնաւորն լինի հասարակ. որպիսի. ոչ ես էի. ոչն և եսն՝ հասարակք են:

Ճինգերորդ՝ եթէ նախընթաց բառն խուղ ձայնաւոր աւարտիցի. և հետևօղն՝ կրկնակ բաղաձայնիւ հաւիգի: յայն ժամ սուղ ձայնաւորն լինի հասարակ. որպիսի. դարձո՛ զմեզ. ձո՛ն՝ հասարակ է:

Նա և հասարակ է յետին վանգ՝ իւրաքանչիւր ստանաւոր փողին:

23վ) Անուն է մասն բանի հողովական թարց

ամանակի. որ զէութիւն իրերաց նշանակէ. որպիսի. մարդ: և անջատուն նորա յոքնակի:

Անուանցն՝ ոմն գոյական. ոմն ածական: Գոյականն է որ ըստ ինքեան գոյանայ իբանինն որպիսի. երկիր. սպիտակութիւն: Ասացի թէ ըստ ինքեան գոյանայ իսպանին: զի ասելով. թէ երկիր է ստեղծուած Աստուծոյ: Սպիտակութիւն է պատահական որակութիւն: երկիրդ և սպիտակութիւնդ առ անձնակի իմացեալք՝ կարեն գոլ իբանին:

Ածականն է. որ ոչ ըստ ինքեանն գոյ իբանին. այլ վերածեալ գոյականին. թէ յայտնապէս. թէ ծածկաբար: որպիսի. բարի. իմաստուն. և այլ: Յայտնապէս. զորօրինակ. որդի իմաստուն է փառք հօրն իւրոյ: Ծածկաբար. իբրու գաղափարաւ. իմաստունն իշխեսցէ աստեղացն: այս ինքն, մարդ իմաստուն:

Ոմն՝ յատկական... Ոմն՝ մասնական կամ անորիշ...Ոմն՝ թուական. որ եռակ է:... Ոմն հարցական. որ է կրկնակ:...և ոմն՝ հատուցական. որ և կրկնակ է:...Ոմն՝ յարաբերական. և է կրկին:...Ոմն՝ նախագաղափար. և ոմն՝ ածանցական:...

(25վ) Բայրանունական անուն է որ ձևացեալ է յանուանէ կամ հօրն կամ նախնեացն. և նշանակէ զկնի եկեալսն ինոցանէ: Արդ՝ արականն զանկս ունի վեց՝ եան. էլ. իթ. գէն. էզ. ակ. որք վերաբերին անուանցն կամ հօրն կամ նախնեացն: որկէն. համազասպեան ասի՝ ի համազասպայ ծնեալն: և մանուէլ. կամ մանիթ. կամ մանէզ՝ ծնեալքն ի մանեայ: և բաբգէն՝ ի բաբայ: և արտակ՝ յարտայ: Բայց իգականացն՝ գաղափարք են երեք. ուշ. ուհի. ոց: հի՛ զան. իմանանայ՝ մանանուշ ասի: յարդափայ՝ արդափուհի: իվարդանայ՝ վարդանոց:

Grammatica est ars recte loquendi, recteque scribendi: & partes habet, quatuor directiuas seu formales, quae sunt, Orthographia, Poetica, Prolatio, Syntaxis: & quatuor dirigibiles, seu materiales, nempe Literam, Syllabam, Dictionem, & Orationem; litera enim ducitur, ac dirigitur ab Orthographia; Syllaba a Poetica; Dictio a Prolatione; & Oratio a Synthaxi.

Duplices sunt octo. վ . ւ . խ . շ . չ . ջ . ռ . ց. quarum vnaquaeque vim habet darum consonantium; nam iuxta Armeniorum sententiam վ aequiualet ւ, & դ. ռ duobus ր. ջ aequipollet ձ, & ճ. շ duobus ս. խ duobus ք. & similiter de reliquis.

Syllaba est communis quinque modis.

Primo, cum exceperit unam ex ancipitibus vocalibus, quae non incidat in mutam, nec in semivocalem; ut բաժակ, calix; ly բա՛ commune est ; quia ժ non est muta, nec semivocalis.

Secundo, si ultima syllaba dictionis vocali longa terminetur, ac prima syllaba dictionis sequentis ab alia vocali incipiat; tunc longa vocalis evadit communis: ut արև արեգական, radius solis; ly և, quod longum erat diphtongo, evadit commune.

Tertio, si vocali brevi, aut ancipiti correptae subsequantur in eadem dictione duae consonantes, quarum prima sit muta, & secunda liquida; tunc brevis illa vocalis sit communis; ut պետրոս petrus; տատրակ turtur: ly պե՛ & ly տա՛ syllabae communes sunt.

Quarto, si vocalis ultimae syllabae sit brevis, & terminetur incidens in unam consonantem aut simplicem, aut duplicem: & prima syllaba sequentis dictionis incipiat a vocali; tunc brevis illa vocalis evadet communis: ut ոչ ես էի, non ego eram; ly ոչ, & ly ես sunt syllabae communes.

Quinto, si dictio praecedens in vocalem brevem terminetur, & subsequens a consonanti duplici incpiat, tunc vocalis illa brevis sit communis; ut դարձո՛ զմեզ, converte nos; ly ձո՛ commune est.

Et communis est etiam ultima syllaba cuiuscunque versus

24r-26r Nomen est pars Orationis declinabilis sine tempore, quae essentiam rei significat: ut մարդ, homo: & multiplex est. Ex nominibus aliud est Substantivum, aliud Adiectivum: Substantivum est, quod per se stat in oratione; ut երկիր terra: սպիտակութիւն albedo. Dixi; quod per se in oratione; nam si dicatur, v. g. terra est creatura Dei; Albedo est accidentalis qualitas; ly terra, & ly albedo secundum se solitarie intellecta, possunt stare in Oratione.

Adiectivum est, quod non per se stat in oratione, sed superadditum substantivo aut explicite, aut implicite: ut բարի bonus, իմաստուն sapiens, &c. explicite, verba gratia, gloria patris est filius sapiens. Implicite; ut sapiens dominabitur astris; hoc est, homo sapiens. Aliud Proprium....Aliud Particulare, seu indefinitum....Aliud Numerale, quod triplex est...Aliud interrogativum, quod etiam duplex est...Et aliud Redditivum, quod etiam duplex est...Aliud Relativum; & duplex est...Aliud Primitivum, & aliud Derivarivum...

26r Nomen Patronimicum est; quod formatur a nomine Patrum, aut maiorum; & significat aliquem ex posteris ab illis oriundum. Et masculinum definit sex modis: hoc est, in եան. էլ. իթ. գէն. էջ. ակ quae particulae superadduntur nomini aut Patris, aut maiorum: ut v. g. համազասպեան, dicitur genitus ab համազասպ. Et մանուէլ, seu մանիթ, seu մանէջ, genitus ex մանի. Et բաբգէն a բաբ. Et արտակ, ab արտ. Femininum vero definit tripliciter; id est, in ուշ. ուհի. ոց ut a մանան sit մանանուշ genita a մանան ab արդատ, sit արդատուհի a վարդան sit վարդանոց, genita a վարդան.

The Greek and Armenian from Adontz:

Γραμματική ἐστιν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσῳδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὕρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.

Ἔτι δὲ τῶν συμφώνων διπλᾶ μέν ἐστι τρία· ζ ξ ψ. διπλᾶ δὲ ἔρηται, ὅτι ἓ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ δύο συμφώνων σύγκειται, τὸ μὲν ζ ἐκ τοῦ σ̂ καὶ δ, τὸ δὲ ξ ἐκ τοῦ κ̂ καὶ σ̂, τὸ δὲ ψ ἐκ τοῦ π̂ καὶ σ̂.

Κοινὴ συλλαβή γίνεται κατὰ τρόπουσ τρεῖς, (1) ἤτοι ὅτ' ἂν εἰς φωνῆεν μακρὸν λήγῃ καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἔχῃ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχομένην, οἷον ‘ Οὔ τί μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί· θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν ’ (2) ἢ ὅτ' ἂν βραχεῖ ἢ βραχυνομένῳ φωνήεντι ἐπιφέρηται δύο σύμφωνα, ὧν τὸ μὲν δεύτερον ἀμετάβολον, τὸ δὲ ἡγούμενον καθ' ἓ ἄφωνόν ἐστιν, οἷον ‘ Πάτροκλε μοι δειλῇ πλεῖστον κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ ’ (3) ἢ ὅτ' ἂ βραχεῖα οὖσα καταπεραιοῖ εἰς μέρος λόγου καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἔχῃ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχομένην, οἷον ‘ Νέστορα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχὴ πίνοντά περ ἔμπης ’

Ὀνομά ἐστι μέρος λόγου πτωτικόν, σῶμα ἢ πρᾶγμα σημαῖνον, σῶμα μὲν οἷον λίθος, πρᾶγμα δὲ οἷον παιδεία, <u>*κοινῶς*</u> τε καὶ ἰδίως λεγόμενον, κοινῶς μὲν οἷον ἄνθρωπος ἵππος, ἰδίως δὲ οἷον Σωκράτης. —— Παρέπεται δὲ τῷ ὀνοματι πέντε· γένη, εἴδη, σχήματα, ἀριθμοί, πτώσεις.

Πατρωνυμικὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ κυρίως ἀπὸ πατρός ἐσχηματισμένον, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ προγόνων, οἷον Πηλείδης, Αἰακίδης ὁ Αχιλλεύς. — - Τύποι δὲ τῶν πατρωνυμικῶν ἀρσενικῶν μὲν τρεῖς, ὁ εἰς δῆς. ὁ εἰς ῶν, ὁ εἰς ᾶδῖôŝ, οἷον Ατρείδης, Ατρείων, καὶ ὁ τῶν Αἰολέων ἴδιος τύπος Ὑρράδιος· Ὑρρα γὰρ παῖς ὁ Πιττακός.

Θηλυκῶν δὲ οἱ ἴσοι τρεῖς, ὁ εἰς $\overline{\text{ις}}$, οἷον Πριαμίς, καὶ ὁ εἰς $\overline{\text{ας}}$, οἷον Πελιάς, καὶ ὁ εἰς $\overline{\text{νη}}$, οἷον Αδρηστίνη {Ε 412}.

Ἀπὸ δὲ μητέρων οὐ σχηματίζει πατρωνυμικὸν εἶδος ὁ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλ' οἱ νεώτεροι.

Քերականութիւն է հմտութիւն որք ի քերդողացն և ի շարագրաց իբրու բազում անգամ ասացելոց։ և մասունք են նորա վեց. նախ՝ վերծանութիւն ներկուռ ըստ առոգանութեան.

երկիր՝ զրուցատրութիւն ըստ ներգոյս քերդողական յեղանակս. երիր՝ լեզուաց և հնագէտ պատմութեանց առձեռն բացատրութիւն. չորիր՝ ստուգաբանութեան գիւտ. հինգերիր՝ համեմատութեան փեղեկութիւն. վեցերիր՝ դատումն քերդածաց. նա և լաւագոյն է յամենեցունց որք ներ արհեստիս են։

և կրկնակք են ի սոցանէ ութ. զ, լ, թ, ձ, չ, ջ, ռ, ց։ և կրկնակք ասին, վասն զի մի մի իւրաքանչիւր ոք ի սոցանէ յերկուց ձայնակցաց բաղկացեալ է, վասն զի բաղկանայ՝ զայն ի սէէ և դայէ և թէն յերկուց քմակից քէից և ջայն յերկուց սէից և ռայն յերկուց րէից։ նոյնպէս և այլքն մու մու բարբառակցաց շարակացեալ են։

Ճասարակ վանգ լինի ըստ յեղանակս երիս. (1) յորժամ ի ձայնաւոր երկայն յանգիցի և զհետինն ունիցի ի ձայնաւորէ հաւացեալ, որզան «ինձ բնաւ ես ոչ դու իրիք պատճառ, արև, այդ աստուածքն». (2) կամ յորժամ աղաւտի և աղաւտացելոյ ձայնաւորիվերաբերիցին երկու ձայնորդք, որոց երկրորդն նայ է, իսկ առաջնորդն ըստ եզ անձայն, հիզան «Պատրոկղէ հիքիս կարի յոյժ սիրեցեալ անձին». (3) կամ յորժամ սուղ իցէ և եզերիցի ի մասն բանի և զհետինն ունիցի ի ձայնաւորէ հաւացեալ, որպիսի «զնեստոր ոչ խաբեաց խաւշիւն թեպէտ և յումպ էր»։

Անուն է մասն բանի հոլովական, մարմին կամ իր նշանակելով. մարմին, որզան քար. և իր, որպէս **խրատ**. հասարակաբար և յատկապէս. հասարակաբար որգունակ մարդ. և յատկապէս որգոն Պաւղոս։ և հետևին անուան հինգ. սեռք, տեսակք, ձևք, թիւք, հոլովք։

(1) Հայրանունական է որ ի հաւրէ իսկ ձեւացեալ է. իսկ պիտակապէս որ ի նախնեացն, Հիքար Համազասպեան (և) Մանուէղ: և գաղափարք են հայրանուանց արականաց վեց. նէնն, յէղն, նիթն, ի գէնն, նէձն, յակն. որպիսի Սամէն, Մանուեղ, Մանիթ, Բաբգէն, Մանէճ, Արտակ. և Գորդայիցն ինքեանց գաղափար յատկական, որպիսի Մանայճ:

և իգականացն չորք. նին, յոյչն, ուհին, նոցն. որգոն Վարդենի, Մանանոյչ, Տրդատուհի և Վարդոց:

և գիտասջիր, զի ընդ կանայս ոչ պճնէ Հոմերոս զհայրանունական տեսակս, այլ համբակագոյնքն:

A Selection from Galanus' Logic

4. De Oppositione propositionum absolutarum. 147r

Յաղագս հակադրութեան բացարձակ նախադասութեանցն :

Պրակք. դ

Մինչև ցայժմուսուցաք զտրամադրութիւնս ստորոգական բացերևութենէն ըստ ինքեան իւրեան խորհիցելոյն: արդ՝ յայսմհետէ վարդապետութիւն արասցուք յաղագս նոյն բացերևութեանցն. ըստ որում առ միմեանս(ո) յարաբերին: և նոցայցն այդպէս իմացելոց երեք ինչ պատկանին. այսինքն. հակադրութիւն. հանգիտութիւն, և անդրադարձութիւն: Արդ՝ նախասասցուք յաղագս հակադրութեանն:

Հակադրութիւնն՝ է ընդդիմակացուիւն (ընդդիմակացութիւն sic, also see Schroeder p. 402 for explanation of word-building in Movses Khorenatsi; he uses this very word modelled on the Greek, antistatic) առ միմեանս երկուց նախադասութեանց, զնոյն ստորոգեալ, և զնոյն ընթակայն ընդունողաց. ոյք հակակային կամ ՛ըստ որակութեան. կամ ըստ քաակութեան. կամ ըստ երկաքանչիւրոյ ի դոցանէ: Իսկ քառեակ է հակադրութիւն նախադասութեանցն: հակասական, ներհական. ընթաներհական. և ընդմիմեամբ:...

Վասն ասացեալ հակադրութեանցն չորք կանոնք առաջաբերին ի փրամաբանականացն: Առաջին կանոն է. թէ հակասական նախադասութիւնքն ոչ երբեք կարեն գոլ համանգամայն ճշմարիտ (sic), կամ սուտ: այլ հարկաւ՞որապէս եթէ մինն է ճշմարիտ, միւսն է սուտ: քանզի ի ճշմարտութենէ միոյ եզրակացուցանեմք զսըտութիւնն միւսոյն. և անդրադարձապէս:

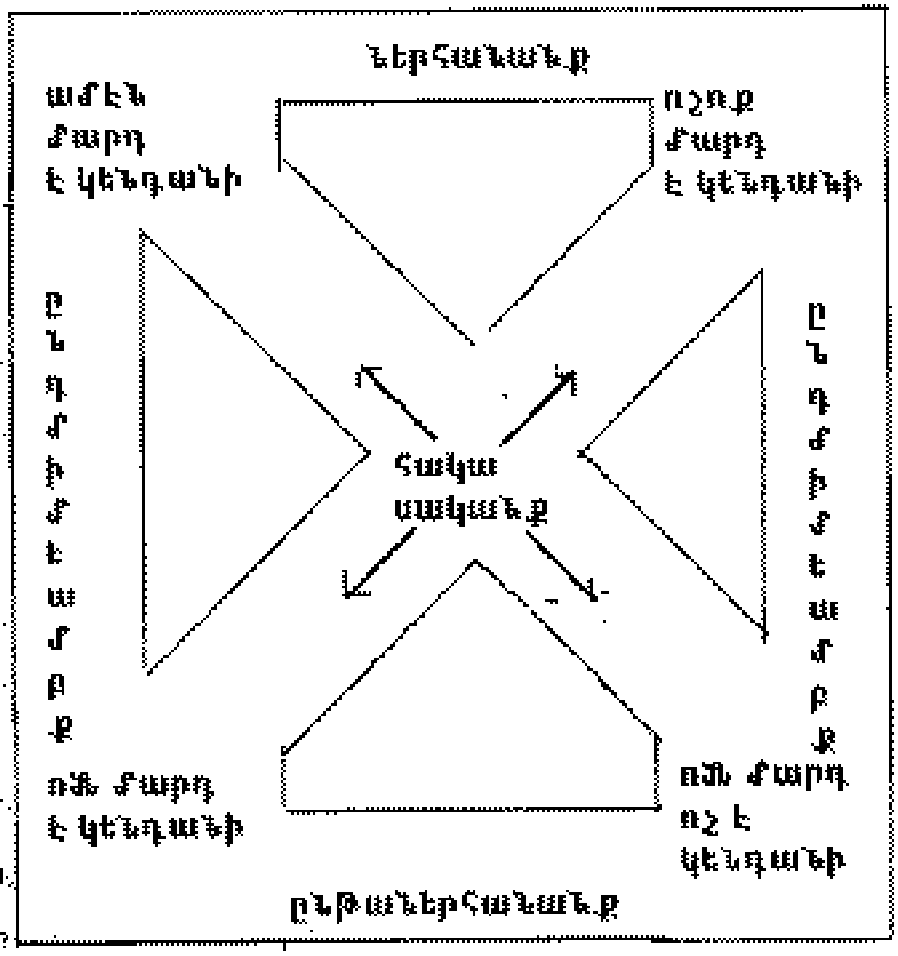
Երկրորդ կանոն. ներհական նախադասութիւնքն ոչ երբեք կարեն գոլ համանգամայն ճշմարիտ: այլ կարեն գոլ համանգամայն սուտ ի ներընդունական նիւթում: իսկ ի հարկաւոր և յանկարելի նիւթում՝ միջտ մինն է ճշմարիտ. և միւսն սուտ:

Երրորդ կանոն. ենթաներհականքն (sic) ոչ կարեն երբեք գոլ համանգամայն սուտ. բայց կարեն համանգամայն գոլ ճշմարիտ ի ներընդունական նիւթում: Իսկ ի հարկաւոր և անկարելի նիւթում՝ միջտ մինն է ճշմարիտ. և միւսն սուտ:

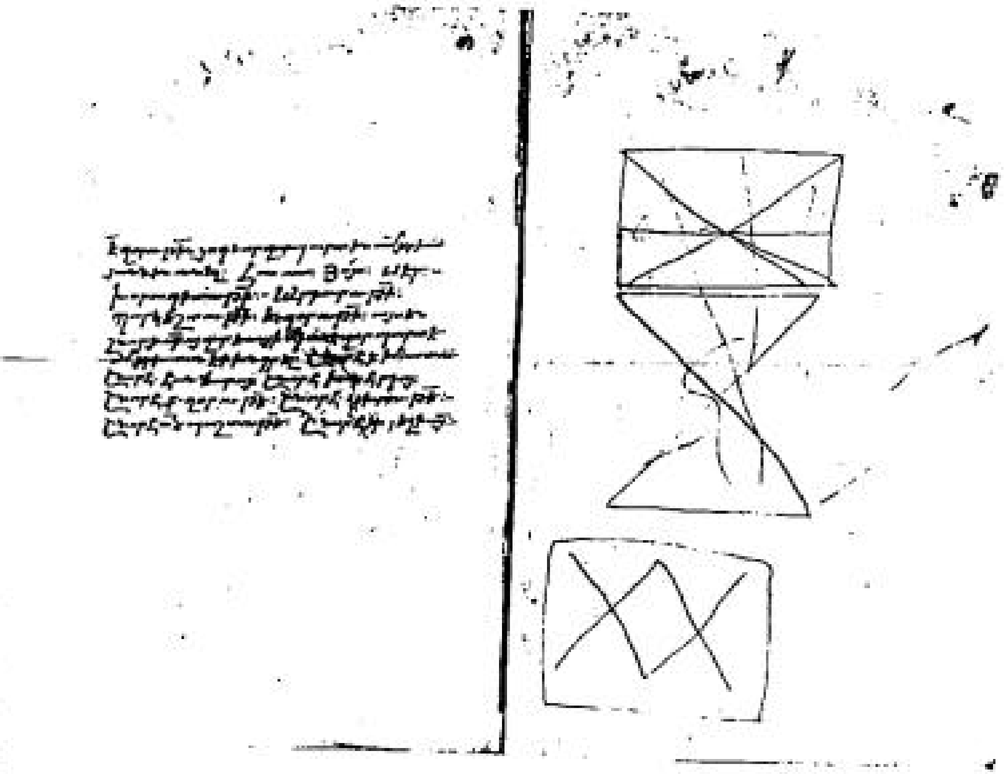
Չորրորդ կանոն. ընդմիմեամբ նախադասութիւնքն՝ ի հարկաւոր նիւթում, գոն համանգամայն ճշմարիտ: Արդ՝ յանկարելի նիւթում՝ գոն համանգամայն սուտ: Իսկ ի ներընդունական նիւթում եթէ ընդհանրականն է ճշմարիտ. մասնաւորն հարկաւորապէս է ճշմարիտ: ապա թէ ընդհանրականն է սուտ. մասնաւորն կարէ գոլ ճշմարիտ: Բայց եթէ մասնաւորն է ճշմարիտ ընդհանրականն կարէ գոլ սուտ: Իսկ եթէ մասնաւորն է սուտ. ընդհանրականն հարկաւորապէս է սուտ: օրինակք ոչ պիտոյ են տրամաբանողին:

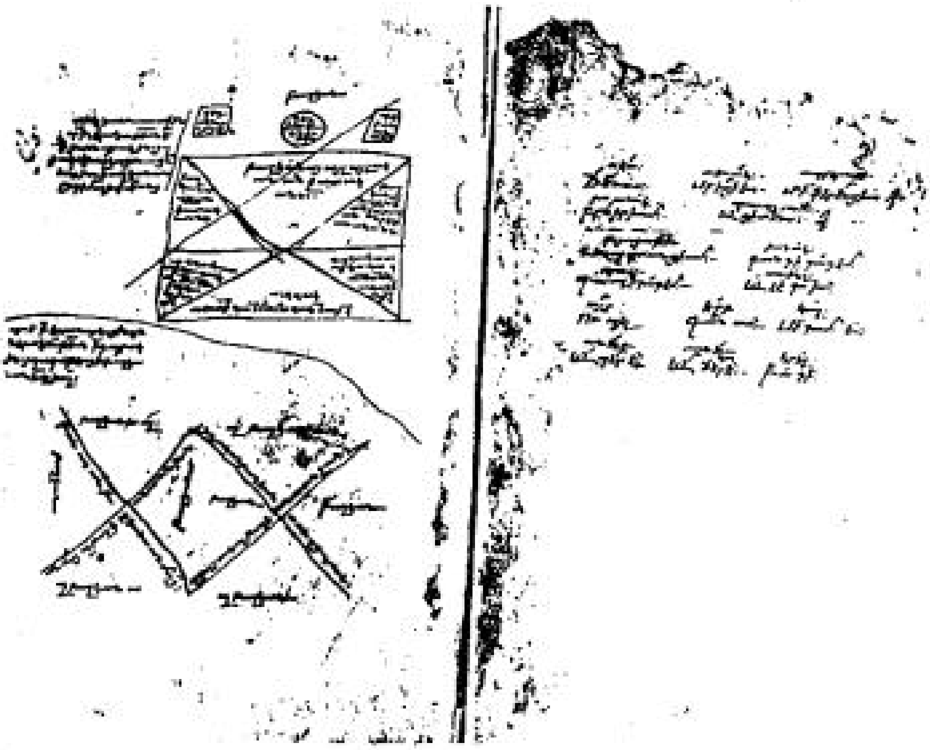
148r: Diagram of the oppositions:

Other logical diagrams found in Ambrogio’s manuscripts of Arsitotle:


ներհանանք
ամէն մարդ է կենդանի
ոչոք մարդ է կենդանի
ընդմիջէամբք
ընդմիջէամբք
հակա սականք
ոմն մարդ է կենդանի
ոմն մարդ ոչ է կենդանի
ընթաներհանանք

Ձեռագիր 178/5-8, 41-11 և 117-120





Chapter IV: The Armenian Material in Teseo Ambrogio's Alphabetical Compendium

Part I: Philological Introduction

This chapter will provide a philological description of the various Armenian citations contained within Teseo's *Introductio in Chaldaicum linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam st decem alias linguas, characterum differentium Alphabeta circiter quadraginta,et eorumdem invicem conformatio; mystica et chabalistica quamplurima scitu digna. Et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afrani.* It will be sugested that this might be used as a source for the reconstruction of the pronunciation of the 16th century Armenian dialect of Tabriz.

The issues considered here are Ambrogio's overall intentions, his transcription of Oriental alphabets and its phonological basis (if any), his Armenian informant's/s' education and status, the texts used by his informants (which might explain deviations from his general practice), Ambrogio's prejudices that might have colored his interpretation of their information, and whether his prejudices might be turned to good use.

Of 432 total pages (paginated by leaves so that I will refer to 2a and 2b), Ambrogio dedicates approximately one-quarter to Armenian. He tells us something of Armenia's history, biblical and classical, and then recounts the trials of his chief informant, John, a noble Amenian of Tabriz. John had been enslaved following the city's capture by the Turks and had been finally ransomed by Catholic monks. He had moved to Rome, where he was received by Pope Paul III some time after 1534 and probably had gone from there to Venice, where he had met Ambrogio. (Richard, 170-177; Ambrogio 143a) Tabriz had been the main center of Uniate activity in the Eastern dialect speaking regions of the Armenian world; moreover, the dialect evidence that John gives Ambrogio predates the forced resettlement of the Armenians of the Julfa and the Ararat Valley within the boundaries of Persia during the reign of Shah Abbas, in the early 17th century.

Venice was one of the European centers for the Armenian merchant communities and had been so for many years as attested by the Armenian graffiti still prominent upon St. Mark's pillars and pilasters. It was also a perfect venue for a student of the Orient's many tongues. Ambrogio knew other Armenians than John, and they were speakers of the Western dialects, for Ambrogio speculates dizzily on the bizarre variations in the phonetic values placed on the same Armenian letter of the alphabet. Nevertheless, Ambrogio's transcription is based upon the pronunciation of the East, not the West. While this could have been derived from a long held tradition of a Golden Age pronunciation, it seems more likely that an Eastern informant is the root cause, and the best candidate for that informant is John of Tabriz. (Ambrogio 144ab-145ab; Ep'rikean 1901)

One very peculiar idee fixe of Ambrogio's is the proper pronunciation of the Tsade (note that this is the only letter not included in the normal order of the Greek Alphabet derived from the Phonecian and only appears as a counting letter at the end [Gamkrelidze]) in all of its Semitic manifestations: he hears it as a fricative rather than an affricate and this insistance will color his discussion of the Armenian affricates. He does not separate the letter from the sound (being strongly influenced by cabalistic notions), but he does speak of these letters' sounds in surprisingly Trubetzkoyan language. He also has some illuminating comments to make on the genetic relations between the letters of the different alphabets: he adumbrates Marquart's connection of certain Armenian and Coptic letters. (Ambrogio 17b-18a; Marquart 40-48; Peeters; Russell)

Part II: Ambrogio's Transcription:

His transcription is fairly phonetic and straight-forward until one gets to the numerous affricates and fricatives of Armenian. 'շ' for instance is transcribed as both `s' and `sc.' The latter transcription is close to the modern phonetic value if we consider that it comes from the Italian pronunciation of this digraph, yet what was its pronunciation in the 16th century? If 's' is rare, does it represent a typesetter's error?

Ambrogio does not confine himself to a purely Italianate transcription: it must be remembered that it had not been that long ago that Marco Polo had chosen to produce his work in the universally understood French rather than the more obscure Italian. In Venetian territory Frankish, and even Catalan, orthographies were still influential (Devoto): Ambrogio uses `que' and `x' to denote /k/ and /ʃ/ respectively, yet he also uses the last to represent 'ժ', and thus is including /ʒ/. In the matter of diachronic pronunciation, there is no certitude that the affricates of Medieval French had simplified by this period, and the same sounds are equally dubious in northern Italian dialects. Yet these are the sounds that concern Ambrogio the most.

There are many cases when Ambrogio seems simply to be transliterating in the crudest sense, yet his textual discussions are constantly referring to written and by implication pronunciational variants: on 153b he notices both զքեզ and ըզքեզ.

He has obviously sufficient information to do more than mechanically transliterate. Ambrogio frequently doubles his `h's when the received text had only one: especially in ահա. Normally, he uses `hh' for խ, so this usage conflicts with the systemization of his transcription. Babken Choogaszyan remembers his first encounter with Acharyan. He was editing a text when Acharyan entered the room and asked him where so and so might be; when he answered the simple inquiry, Acharyan immediately declared that he spoke the Tabrizi dialect. He identified it by the overlong pronunciation of consonants. Thus this doubling (an effect an Italian would have a natural ear for) may be a mark of Ambrogio's aural acuity rather than any carelessness.

If his ե is transcribed /je/ and his է, /æ/, are these more than algebraic? Can they display the pronunciation of Tabriz? When Ambrogio transliterates որ, /or/, is he mindlessly following the text, or is this his informant's pronunciation as it is today frequently in the dialects of Mush, Xaberd, Partizak, Sebastia, and Hamshen (Greppin)?

Here follows Ambrogio's transcription of the Armenian letters with his inclusion of the various pronunciations he was familiar with and a few comments on typesetters errors and more profound errors of Ambrogio himself.

Ambrogio considers the following letters vowels although he is giving the word a different meaning from that we would today: ա, ե, է, ը, ի, խ, հ, ձ, յ, ո, վ, ւ, և, օ.

He divides these into simple vowels and diphthongs. To make the diphthongs he designates, ա, ե, ի, ո, as radicals and, յ, ւ, վ, as helpers. There is much in this list that would seem dubious to modern linguistics. It must be remembered that Ambrogio is using the Semitic alphabets as the universal template for all subsequent ones and his designations have as much to do with his historical theories as anything else. (Ambrogio 17ab, 144ab)

The consonants are բ, գ, դ, զ, թ, ժ, լ, ծ, կ, ձ, մ, ն, շ, չ, պ, ջ, ռ, տ, ր, ց, փ, ք, ֆ. He divides them into the simple, the double, and the aspirated. (Ambrogio 145ab)

The letters are also given a transcription and a phonetic evaluation. The latter gives both Western and Eastern pronunciation, but the Eastern form is consistently used to transcribe the texts he quotes. I will give two examples of such texts with a short commentary after giving the various values he ascribes to the Armenian letters.

These are the sounds he has heard connected with the letters: ա (ayp/a) բ (byen, pyen/b, p) գ (giem, chiem/g, c) դ (da, ta/d, t) ե (iech/e, ie) զ (za/z) է (ae,e) ը (iet/ie) թ (tho/th) ժ (ge, ze, xe/g, z, x) ի (ini/i) լ (luen/l) խ (hhe/hh) ծ (dha, tza, zza/dh, tz, zz) կ (chien, gien, kien, quien/c, g, k, q) հ (ho/h) ձ (ssa, tsa, zza/ss, ts, zz) ղ (glal, gal/gl, l) ճ (ie, gie, hie/i, g, h) մ (miem/m) յ (i/i) ն (nu/n) շ (sa, scha/s, sc) ո (vua/o) չ (secha, zia/s, z) պ (pe, be/p, b) ջ (sche, zche/sc, ch, q, z) ռ (rha, rra/rh, rr) ս (se/s) վ (viech, vieu, vieph/u [v]) տ (tuen, duen/t, d) ր (re/r) ց (zzo/zt, zz) ւ (yun, phyun/ y [ypsilon]) փ (puir, psiur/p, ps) ք (che/ch) և (ieu/eu) ֆ (phe/ph) օ (aypyun/o). The transcription of the affricates is very poor and many sound values are based upon the Greek originals rather than the Armenian as with ps and ph. (Ambrogio 143ab; see discussion below)

Ambrogio transcribes the Introit for the Mass for St. Ambrose on page 152b: <u>Ած</u> (Astuzt/Deus) որ (or/qui) ժողովրդեան (zoglÒrdean/populo) քում (chum/tuo) յաւիտենական (iauitenacan/aeterne) փրկութե~ (phercuthene [sic]/salutis) զերանելին (zeranelin/beatum) Ամբրոսիոս (Ambrosios/Ambrosium) սպասաւոր (spasauor/ministrum) հատուցեր (hatuzter/tribuisti) պարգևեա (pargeuea/praesta) աղաչեմք (aglazemch/quaesumus) զի (zi/ut) զոր (zor/quem) վարդապետ (vardapet/doctorem) կենաց (cenazt/vitae)

ունեաք(vneach/habuimus) ի (i/in [sic]) յերկրի (iercri/terris). Բարեխօս (barehhos/intercessore) ունել (vnel/habere) արժանասցուք (arxanaszzuch/mereamur) ի (i/in [sic]) յերկինս (iercins/coelis). (Ambrogio 152b)

The passage is transcribed in the Eastern Dialect although there are no hints at the proper placement of `schwas' in the cases of consonant clusters. It is somewhere between a phonetic transcription and a transliteration (based on the prevailing Armenian orthography). A commentary on the passage should first note that the redundant `i' for the initial `y' of the word heaven is the enclitic `i' (in). The auditor could have been puzzled by the yodizatiion of the initial `e' in Armenian (perhaps that feature of the modern language had not yet been generalized) or the yodization may not have been present in the Tabrizi dialect and the different pronunciations of different informants may have simply confused the issue. Note also the mistake with the abbreviation of `t'iwn' (thene). Ambrogio makes repeated errors with abbreviations as will become evident with his transcription of the `Lord's Prayer.' It should also be noted that ancient digraph `aw' is here replaced with the long `o' (barehhos) as it is today while it is used in the following passage.

Հայր (Hair/Pater) մեր (mer/noster) որ (or/qui) յերկինս (iercins/in coelis) դես (des/es [sic]) սուրբ (surb/sanctum) եղիցի (eglizzi/sit) անուն (anun/nomen) քո (cho/tuum). եկեսցէ (eceszze/veniat) արքայութաի (archaiuthai [sic]/regnum) քո (cho/tuum) եղիցին (eglizzin/fiant) կամք (camch/placita) քո (cho/tua) որպէս (orpes/sicut) յերկինս (iercins/in coelo) և (eu/et) իերկրի (iercri [sic]/in terra). զհաց (Zhazt/Panem) մեր (mer/nostrum) հանապաշորդ (hanapazord [sic] /suprasubstatialem) տուր (tur/da) մեզ (mez/nobis) այսաւր (aisaur [!] աւ for օ/hodie) և (eu/et) թող (thogl/remitte) մեզ (mez/nobis) զպաարտիս (zpaartis [sic]/debita) մեր (mer/nostra) որպէս (orpaes/sicut) և (eu/et) մեք (mech/nos) թողումք (thoglumch/remittimus) մերոց (merozt/nostris) պարտպանաց (partpanazt [sic]/debitoribus) և (eu/et) մի (mi/ne) տանիր (tanir/ducas) զմեզ (zmez/nos) ի (i/in) փորձութաի (phorxuthai [sic]/tentationem) այլ (ail/sed) փրկեայ (pharceai [sic]/libera) զմեզ (zmez/nos) ի (i/a) չարէ (zarae/malo). զի (zi/quem) քո (cho/tuum) է (ae/est) արքայութաի (archaiuthai [sic]/regnum) և (eu/et)

զաւրութաի (zauruthai [!] [sic]/virtus) **և** (eu/et) **փառ.ք** (pharhch/gloria) **յաւիտեանս** (iauiteans/insecula). **Ամեն** (amen [sic]/amen). (Ambrogio 185b)

This prayer has many interesting errors. `Amen' is spelled without the `long e' and an extra `y' is added to `pharceai' and 'a' represents schwa. There are the repeated mistakes made in interpretation of the Armenian abbreviations. Is it possible that these abbreviations were read in a special way as we might today say `ay ii' for i.e.? There are many simple typos: **չ** written for **զ** (but Ambrogio makes no phonetic distinction between them), the doubling of `a', and the writing of **ի** for **յ**.

The most astounding error is the form `des' for `you are'. (Ajamian; Weitenberg) The possibility that this is a simple error is small considering that the inclusion of the verb `to be' here would be a natural error for speakers of the everyday language and why would a foreigner learning the language from accomplished teachers create such a nonce form? One possibility is that `des' is the verb with an enclitic `du'; such developments are common in the IE languages (see Germanic `ist [is + dental of the 2nd person singular], bist, art, etc.) This could be a dialectal feature due to the speaker's hypercorrection of the Grabar text, which is missing the auxilary because the Greek text is without one. There is also the possibility that the `d' of 'des' was actually the enclitic possessive attached to the previous noun, and it has been written as part of the verb `to be' (`es') because of the normally enclitic pronunciation of that verb itself. Nonetheless, the form is a strange one.

I have already talked about the use of `aw' rather than `long o', which is an archaic feature. We should also note that Ambrogio chooses to differentiate the `long e' in two ways: e and ae.

Part III: His Armenian Informants:

As already mentioned, Ambrogio writes of only one specific teacher of Armenian: John of Tabriz. Yet one can plainly see the traces of others in his sections on the pronunciational variants of names, not to mention the orthographical disparaties he detects.

This John was especially mentioned as he recounts the recent history of a very important Catholic outpost in the East, Tabriz, and because his own history is so pitiable (Richard). It is also possible that John was an especial friend of Ambrogio's old age.

Tabriz had been recently ravaged by the Turks in John's account and John had been ransomed from captivity by the Dominicans. In 1514, the city had been taken by Selim, but it had been attacked again by Suleiman in 1534. The later date is also the beginnings of Ambrogio's Armenian font, which was created in Ferrara and added to his other fonts that had been saved from the sacking of Pavia. (Fumagelli; Diz.)

Here is the original Latin text and the translation of Ambrogio's Introduction to the Armenian language found in the *Introductio...* Folio 142:

De Armeniorum literis, & introductione. Cap. XIII

Armeniam, Asiae Provinciam, inter Taurum & Caucasum Montes sitam esse, ne dum omnibus qui in literaria Ethnicorum versantur Palestra, verum etiam his qui sacrae novi & veteris instrumenti scripturae volumina legunt, notum esse credimus. Quippe (ut Ptolomeum, Solinum, Dionysium, Stephanum, Virgilium, Lucanum, & multos alios autores praetermittamus) in libro Geneseos, cap. 8. scriptum habemus. Requieuitque Arca mense septimo, vigesima septima die mensis super Montes Armeniae, & in quarto Regum. 19. Et reversus est Senacherib, Rex Asyriorum, & mansit in Ninive, cumque adoraret in templo Nesrach, deum suum Adramelech, & Sarasat filii eius persusserunt eum gladio, fugeruntque in terram Armeniorum, & regnavit Assaradon, filius eius pro eo. Hanc terram Hebraica litera ארצ ארדט aerez ararat, id est terram ararat appellat. Et nos quoque in libro Esaiae prophetae, cap. 37. Terram ararat habemus, & quod in dicto capitulo octavo Geneseos Hebraica literea hêt על הרי ארדט Gal hare ararat, super montes ararat. ibi Arabicus textus sic habet Zdfï ·§™ Âæì Alai gbal pharda. super montes pharda. In Tigris fluvius est, & Araxes, de quo Lucanus libro sexto. Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxem. Dividitur autem Regio haec in maiorem & minorem Armeniam, ut idem Poeta Lucanus innuit dicens. Nec tu populos utraque vagantes Armenia Ἀρμενία χώρα πλήσιον τῶν περσῶν, Armenia (inquit

Stephanus) Regio est proxima Persis. Obediunt enim parentque Armeni in temporalibus Persarum Regi, qui vulgo dicit, el Sophi. In spiritualibus vero illis praeest Simas Patriarcha, qui Praesbytero Ioanni Indorum Pontifici, obedientiam praestat. Sunt autem Armeni Christiani sancti Thomae, de la cintura, vulgo appellati, & iuxta Romanae Ecclesiae ritum se degere asserunt (afferunt?). Troisam magnam Armeniae Civitatem, proximis annis Othomanus Turcarum Imperator, vi coepit, captamque ferro & igne consumptam destruxit, & Christianos omnes utriusque sexus ab annis quadraginta supra, tanquam pecora immaniter trucidavit, & ab indem citra captivos universos duxit, partemque eorum sub hasta vendidit: partem vero captivam adhuc pollicita redemptionis mercede ligatam retinet. Testatur hoc nobilis Troisae Civis Ioannes, & qui cum illo in Italiam pro captivis redimendis, paulo ante advecti adsummi Pontificis Pauli se pedes humiliter prostraverunt, et stipem per Ecclesias. & Urbium Plateas suppliciter exposcunt. Illorum triginta & novem esse elementa literarumque figuras, in superioribus cum de vocalibus loqueremur asservimus, & quoties de consonantibus armenicis verba facere contigit, ad armenicam introductionem lectorem remissimus. Proinde necessarium fore visum fuit, ut rursus ab alphabeti ordine inciperemus. Sunt igitur armeniorum literae, & eorum nomina infrascripta.

Translation:

'Chapter XIII: Concerning the Armenian Letters and an Introduction

We believe that it has been observed not only by all those engaged in the literary Palestra (arena) of nations, but truly besides this by those well read in the volumes of the sacred documents of the New and Old Testaments that Armenia is a Province of Asia situated between the Taurus and Caucasus Mountains. Of course, (passing over Ptolemy, Solinus, Dionysius, Stephanus, Virgil, Lucan, and many other authors) we find the following written in Genesis 8: 'And the ark came to rest upon the Armenian Mountains on the 27th day of the seventh month,' and in 4 Kings (2 Kings) 19: 'And Senacherib, the Assyrian King, returned and remained in Niniveh; and while

worshipping in the temple of his god, Nesrach, his sons, Adramelech and Sarasar, struck him with swords and fled into the land of the Armenians; and his other son, Assaradon ruled in his stead.' The Hebrew letterrs name this land ארצ אררט aerez ararat, that is the land of Ararat. And we find in the Prophet Isaiah 37: 'the land of Ararat,' and it is said in Genesis 8 (that is the Hebrew letter 'Heth') על הרי אררט Gal hare ararat, upon the Mountains of Ararat, while the Arabic text has it so Zdfï ·§™ Âæì Alai gbal pharda, upon the Mountains of Farda. From these flow the rivers Tigris and Araxes, about which the poet Lucan says in his Sixth Book: 'And the Romans drank from Armenian Araxes.' Moreover, the region is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia, which fact is also mentioned by Lucan in an aside, 'Nor you people wandering in both Armenias.' **Ἀρμενία χώρα πλήσιον τῶν περσῶν,** Stephanus reports that Armenia borders Persia. The Armenians are presently obedient to the Persian King, commonly termed, el Sophi, as they are his subjects. In their spiritual life, they are presided over by Patriarch Simas, who renders obedience in turn to the Indian Pontif, Prester John. Besides these, there are Armenian Christians of St. Thomas, who are known in the vulgar tongue as 'de la cintura (of the cincture),' and they have placed themselves in union with the Roman Church's Rite. Tabriz is the major city of the Armenians and in recent years the Emperor of the Ottoman Turks has taken it by force, destroying the city with fire and sword, and all of the Christian citizens of either sex at or over forty years of age were mercilessly butchered like cattle, while those under that age were led away captives, one portion to be sold under the spear and the other kept in chains under the promise of ransom to be paid. These facts, the noble John of Tabriz has recently testified to most humbly, with those also redeemed from captivity with him in Italy, prostrated at the feet of the Pontif Paul (Paul III 1468-1549, pope from 1534); they begged suppliantly for alms from the Church and in the Plazas of the City. We ought now reintroduce the reader to the Armenian script: of the thirty-nine elements of the written figures, we will speak first concerning the vowels and then of the consonants, which together with the former make up the words of Armenian. Consequently, it is necessary to place all in plain sight so that we begin by returning to the basic order of the alphabet. These, therefore, are the Armenian letters with their names written beneath each of them.'

The Indian Pontiff could be from either India (India or Ethiopia). Prester John was a mythic figure, whose realm moved from Central Asia to India to Africa depending on the sources. (Mayerson; Sanders; Forbath) It is very intriguing that Ambrogio would trot out such a figure as this when he had John of Tabriz and Matthew, the envoy of the Ethiopians, to inform him concerning Armenian realities. The fact that Sanders and many other scholars note the search for Prester John to have partially motivated Henry the Navigator, popes and the kings of Spain in their financial backing of expeditions to the East and Africa suggests an answer. The Armenians were using this mythic connection because of this ruler's popularity with the patrons that they were dealing with; the fable held more promise of success than the truth. The Patriarch Simas could refer to the Chaldaean Patriarchs of the Shim'uns (some eight of that name are recorded). (Frazee p. 57; Graf) Ambrogio was entirely entranced with the Chaldean Church and the Nestorians were living close to Armenia proper and had major seats in Diyarbakir and Mosul. It is disturbing that an earlier and widely reprinted book, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), gives a much more realistic and practical description of actual Armenian prelates and religious practices. (Nersessian 1990)

The references to Christians as people of the cincture or belt is made again by Postel (1538, folio recto 8) where he refers to the Chaldaeans as living among the Mountains of Lebanon, where they are known vulgarly as the 'Christianos de zona.' Postel may be the source of the remark in Ambrogio as he was widely travelled in the Levant. It is interesting that in the very same passage he refers to 'Vir ad rem Christianam ornandam natus, Frater Ambrosius Papiensis Ferrariae...' The very learned Prof. Richard also notes that the Copts were known as 'people of the belt,' and that such distinguishing sumptuary codes were commonly forced upon Christians in Muslim states.

What would be more natural than that two men recently driven from their homes should become fast friends. It is also possibly the language's recent instruction which accounts for its disproportionate inclusion in the book.

I am suggesting that John had been only recently ransomed and that he was the source of Ambrogio's interest in Armenian; of course, Ambrogio, being a born scholar

and collector of curiosities, did not stop with one source of information, but immediately sought out other Armenians in Venice and its environs to augment his heady stream of information from John. Nonetheless, all of Ambrogio's material is based upon Eastern, not Western dialectal information.

John was most likely a Catholic given his enlargement by the Dominicans; he is also labelled a nobleman: something useful to claim when travelling in a foreign country, but also something very likely true. John was very literate in his native tongue and had given Ambrogio access to a number of works; his education would have been difficult to obtain if he had not some status in his community.

Appendix to Part III: Postel's text on the Armenians

De Armenica. (From Postel, *Linguarum duodecim...,* folio 32)

Est in usu sacrorum Armenis non tantum in utraque Armenia habitantibus, ut putant vulgo, sed ubicumque Muhamedes auditur, ut in tota Asia minori, in Syria, in Tartaria, & Persia, & circa mare Ponticum (hodie nigrum maiusve vocant) praecipue ad Tauricam Chersonesum, ubi versantur in summo Turchorum Muhametanorumque omnium privilegio, ob id quod ostendunt quoddam diploma a Muhamede sibi olim concessum, ubi ob beneficia quae olim ab illa gente receperat, statuit, ne usquam serviant Muhamedicis. Ostentant diploma quale olim & Sinaiensibus monachis in Syria donuerat idem nebulo, quod ipsum olim, cum exercitu & veteranis illis ab Herculio in Asia post expeditionem in Chosroae regis Persarum filium relictis, humaniter excepissent. Servarunt Sinaienses hoc privilegium usque ad tempora Gazellae, seu Sulimi Turcharum regis, cuius temporibus quum ostentarent illud audacius apud Sultanum Aegyptum illum, quem vicit Selimus, eo delato as principem, ipso privati sunt, Erat autem tale (ut Armeni recitarunt frequentius, pariter & Turchae huiusmodi affirmant), post quatuor aut quinque verba Arabica, immersa in attramentum manu formam manus & digitorum imprimebat libello qualem etiamnun servant Armeni. Illorum lingua vulgaris omnino Turchica est, ut videantur aur hi ab illis, aut quod est vero similius, isti ab illis aut illorum finibus oriundi.

Orant isti quasi mor Muhamedicorum provoluti in genua & caetera osculantes terram, ubi Turchae tantum bis. Caeterum fuerunt usque ad tempora Eugenii tertii in errore Nestorii quo abnegato tum se in fidem Rhomanae ecclesiae pars dediderunt. Homines usqueadeo Graecis invisi, ut malint si lex permitteret, vel cum Turcha aut Iudaeo contrahere matrimonium quam cum illis, Duplex causa odii est, quod olim fuerit illis inusta deterrimae haereseos nota, tum quod Romanis Christianis, quos nusquam vel Christianorum nomine dignarentur Graeci, consentiant. Is accedunt illi mores cum Turchis in oratione communes. Graeci enim ut plurimum erecti orant. Sapiunt revera adhuc aliquid Nestorimi, nec enim festum nativitatis celebrant, sed circumcisionis. Illorum sacrificuli triduo abstinent foeminis antequam recolant memoriam passionis Christi. Caetera sunt illis & Romanae ecclesiae communia. Sed ad rem redeo.

Part IV: The Armenian Works Used:

If John was the a source of Armenian books for Ambrogio, these books have some peculiarities that suggest that the texts used in the Catholic Armenian communities of the East were not the same as the received canon.

I have compared Ambrogio's biblical references to the Zohrabian and the American Bible Society's Grabar Bibles and there are a number of disparaties. Yet, most of these could be simple scribal errors or the diffusion of dialectal or vulgar forms into the text.

One example of this is Ambrogio's consistent transcription of God as /Astutz/ (a Middle Armenian form). But an even more interesting feature is the inclusion of the original Psalmist's words (Psalm 21 [Armenian text], but 22 [King James]) rather than those in the New Testament: The received text in both Mark and Matthew has Jesus cry out on the cross, **Աստուած իմ, Աստուած իմ, ընդէ՞ր թողեր զիս:**; but in Ambrogio it has become, **Աստուծ Աստուծ իմ նաեաց առ իս ընդեր թողեր զիս:** which besides having the Old Testament material, is translitered as `Astuz Astuz im naieaz arh is, iendier tholier (notice `l' for `gl').' Ambrogio also notes that the text follows the Old Church Slavic or Macedonian. (Ambrogio 39a)

Other Armenian material includes passages from Porphyry and Aristotle and liturgical prayers such as the Credo.

Ambrogio is a man of the Renaissance, and as such, has an inordinant confidence in the acquisition of truth from books: one needs only find the right books. And if the Greek holds a treasure, what other treasures may lie further afield?

The alphabet for him is not a lambent, changeable thing, but a hard and fast gift from the Diety. His notion of vowel or consonant is as much involved with the genetic relations between the present letters' values and their historical values in Hebrew, but this is a two-way road of truth: present values can define ancient values. Thus, if the Eta of Greek derives from Semitic Heth, then Heth and all its derivatives are vowels as Eta must be considered. See his classification of the letters.

There must be a good deal of investigation into the background of these notions. Especially into the grammatical ideas of Hebraists of the day and also into the influence of cabalists upon the set ideas of the relation between letter and its sound. This is a matter that Ambrogio sets out in his preface and continues to return to throughout 400 pages.

That this idea is strange to us should not prejudice us against the possible directions it gave Ambrogio's interests, and these directions could in turn improve Ambrogio's usefulness as a phonological witness. That the problem of the affricates so engaged him also makes his transcriptional difficulties worthy of close study so as to tease out some, perhaps, surprising bits of information.

The first task, however, is a thorough comparative study of his whole system and that will be a major one.

Part V: Linguistic Commentary on the Major Texts Found in Ambrogio, Postel and Rivola

Translation is an art colored by the proposed purpose of the text within the culture to which it is being translated (in the magical sense of unintermediated travel). For the language to be translated, it first must be translated through space. The text is transposed and made at home in a new place with new surroundings for a wide or a

narrow audience and within that public it often is assumed to be untranslated (remember the row that occurred in Munich when a new translation of `Hamlet' replaced the canonical 19th century version or in America when a new Bible translation superseded the `King James Version'). The Bible has been often translated into Greek, but the Septuagint differs greatly from Origen's word-for-word version.

I would like to explore the nature of the public that Armenian diasporans of the early 16th century and their European confreres sought to impress with the Armenian language: what language did they offer; why did they choose this vehicle over another; how did the Europeans working with them understand and use the language(s) they were offered, and what were the subsequent effects of this introduction on the growth of a European concept of the Armenians and their language?

I emphasize here that it was more the willingness of Armenians to share their tongue with the foreign scholars than the scholars' relentless quest after new tongues that I think should be investigated. Unfortunately, the Armenian informants are largely nameless (except in the case of Ambrogio) and when they are named, the information given is very scant (Strohmeyer, pp. 174-175).

Teseo Ambrogio remained the most cited European author in the books dedicated to the teaching of Armenian in the 16th and early 17th centuries: Postel's book is derived from his although it was published a year earlier (1538) and Rivola's Grammar and Dictionary (1624/1621: reprinted 1633) consistently refer to his work, which is a rich depository of Armenian's dialectal contradictions although similar disparities covertly reside in every language.

As we shall see, Ambrogio's purpose differed radically from the purposes of his two followers: Postel was hurriedly publishing a feast for the eye in order to garner the favor of Francis I so that he might be given the post of Orientalist Extraordinaire at the University of Paris (Kuntz, pp. 32-34) while Rivola was continuing the long journey of translating Catholic works into an `Latinized Armenian,' (Nichanian, pp. 255-257), a language understood as a civil tongue used to communicate business and politics, that would further the goal of the Propagation of the Faith among the Ottoman Christians (Postel dreamed rather of Christianizing the Muslims themselves).

Teseo Ambrogio shared some of these reasons, but it is clear from his book that his deepest impulses came from his search for the original written tongue: Man's first visual speech and perhaps man's first audible speech, for Ambrogio was Kabbalistically intoxicated by the theory of the derivation of all alphabets from the Hebrew and it colors all of his thinking (Postel, of course, spent his life in a similar quest, but he did not consider Armenian the key-language that Ambrogio did). Typically, his manuscripts and his last book were stamped with a distinctive signet-seal: the names of the Hebrew letters written out in the Armenian forming a rough circle. Furthermore, the Latin identification of the owner (even on the inside cover of his manuscript Hebrew-Latin Dictionary) is written in Armenian script.

We will examine the changes undergone by the prayer `Hayr Mer' during its journey from Ambrogio's manuscript `Breviary' to his work on comparative alphabets to Postel's very brief work of a similar nature to Rivola's Grammar. As we shall see, the text undergoes strange transliterations, pronunciations and orthographic depredations, and some of these are fascinatingly redolent with various dialectal adhesions to the Grabar of the Golden Age. When we look at the manuscript, we shall see that Ambrogio is utterly faithful to the givens of his prize and that it is the so often repeated prayer that has become somewhat mangled as has the `Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag' by the thoughtless, but reverent repetition of millions of school children.

Part VI: The Original Manuscript Sources for the `Ambrogio Tradition'

In the University of Pavia's Library of manuscripts are found the remnants of Teseo Ambrogio's library from his monastery in the same city. Most of his typefaces and books were destroyed in the sacking and occupation of the city by the French between 1525 and 1527, but he recovered what he could and started his Orientalist typography again in Ferrara, whence he returned to Pavia by way of Venice before his death (Terenzio, pp. 9-11).

The codices that interest us most are numbered 346 and 347 in the university's catalogue of manuscripts and are described as a `Diurninum armenicum' and a

`Breviarium' by F. Conybeare, who dates them by their colophons to the 14th century. (de Marchi, pp. 190-191)

These are clearly Ambrogio's as identified by his name and his family's written in Latin, but in Armenian script, and by the presence of his stamp of the names of the Hebrew alphabet again written in Armenian script. These inscriptions appear again in his vademecum mentioned above. Note that Conybeare mentions a third, now lost religious manuscript, which is possibly an Armenian Psalter created for the Armenian Chalcedonian community. (see my work on the Psalms cited in the *Introductio...*).

Ambrogio has interlineated these entire books with Latin glosses for each word and numerous marginal notes.

When we compare the traditional text of Matthew 6, 9-14 from the Zohrabian Bible with the text from the `Breviarium' leaf $96^{r/v}$, we see a few peculiar forms which have been copied from text to text, no doubt, because although the copyist knew their more common alternatives, he refrained from altering a sacred book that had come to him for accurate preservation. Ambrogio and Postel record these peculiarities in the same spirit, while Rivola, the far more liguistically practical and curious, does much to bring the text closer to the oral tradition that he knew.

I have underlined the words and copyist's idiosyncracies that have caused interpretive difficulties for subsequent readers.

One of the truly bizarre forms is **դես** in the first relative clause (Ajamian; Weitenberg). The Grabar text early on had an alternate that included the copula `you are' although the Greek model did not contain it. At some point a second-person possessive marker was added to heaven, giving `thy heaven' **յերկինսդ**, and this was subsequently misdivided in Ambrogio's copying of the original manuscript so that the first form was achieved. Rivola comments on this **դես** in his grammar (p. 296) and accounts for it as a form of the copula infected with the pronoun of the second person singular much as modern linguists account for the `t' (from `thou') in poetic English forms `dost' and `art' or common German `bist.' Ambrogio's misreading became a common part of most printed 'Hayr Mer's throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in Italy, Germany and France. (Nersessian)

1. The traditional Zohrabian Grabar text of the `Hayr Mer:'

Ճայր մեր որ յերկինս, սուրբ եղիցի անուն քո. եկեսցէ արքայութիւն քո. եղիցին կամք քո որպէս յերկինս՝ և յերկրի. ԶՀաց մեր Հանապազորդ տուր մեզ այսօր. և թող մեզ զպարտիս մեր, որպէս և մեք թողումք մերոց պարտապանաց. և մի՝ տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութիւն, այլ փրկեա զմեզ ի չարէն. զի քո է արքայութիւն և զօրութիւն և փառք յաւիտեանս. Ամէն:

2. The following is the text found in Ambrogio's manuscript #347 folio verso 95:

Հայր մեր որ յերկինսդ ես ս~բ եղիցի անուն քո: եկեսցէ արքայութի~ քո եղիցին կամք քո որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի: զՀաց մեր Հանապա()զորդ [there is a space in the manuscript marked by the parentheses] **տուր մեզ այսաւր և թող մեզ զպաարտիս** [sic] **մեր որպէս և մեք թողումք մերոց պարտպանաց** [sic] **և մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութի~: այլ փրկեայ** [sic] **զմեզ ի չարէ:** [sic] **զի քո է արքայութի~ և զաւրութի~ և փառք յաւիտեանս: ամէն**

The `tildas' mark the abbreviations and are over the letter combinations or the final `ini' in the manuscript. It is also after the hand of this copyist that Teseo models his Armenian font.

MS 347 shows distinct influences from the Vulgate (especially in Ecclesiasticus, which will be discussed in another Chapter), but the earliest translation of the Vulgate into Armenian is by Father Augustine Awetiq O.P. in Venice, 1380 perhaps years after the Lectionary's completion. (Oudenrijn) However, the Vulgate cannot account for the inclusion of a second person pronoun into the phrase 'in heaven,' nor does MS 347 have an extant colophon, so we cannot be sure whether it is a production contemporary with MS 346.

Part VII: Ambrogio's Printed Version of 1539

The table of the Armenian alphabet and its Latin equivalents clearly show that Ambrogio was aware of its pronunciational variants, but it is equally clear that he preferred the Eastern values for the transcription of his texts.

3. These are the sounds Ambrogio has heard connected with the letters:

ա	(ayp/a)	մ	(miem/m)
բ	(byen, pyen/b, p)	յ	(i/i)
գ	(giem, chiem/g, c)	ն	(nu/n)
դ	(da, ta/d, t)	շ	(sa, scha/s, sc)
ե	(iech/e, ie)	ո	(vua/o)
զ	(za/z)	չ	(secha, zia/s, z)
է	(ae,e)	պ	(pe, be/p, b)
ը	(iet/ie)	ջ	(sche, zche/sc, ch, q, z)
թ	(tho/th)	ռ	(rha, rra/rh, rr)
ժ	(ge, ze, xe/g, z, x)	ս	(se/s)
ի	(ini/i)	վ	(viech, vieu, vieph/u [v])
լ	(luen/l)	տ	(tuen, duen/t, d)
խ	(hhe/hh)	ր	(re/r)
ծ	(dha, tza, zza/dh, tz, zz)	ց	(zzo/zt, zz)
կ	(chien, gien, kien, quien/c, g, k, q)	ւ	(yun, phyun/ y [ypsilon])
հ	(ho/h)	փ	(puir, psiur/p, ps)
ձ	(ssa, tsa, zza/ss, ts, zz)	ք	(che/ch)
ղ	(glal, gal/gl, l)	և	(ieu/eu)
ճ	(ie, gie, hie/i, g, h)	ֆ	(phe/ph)
		օ	(aypyun/o).

The transcription of the affricates is very poor and many sound values are based upon the Greek originals rather than the Armenian as with ps and ph. (Ambrogio, 143ab)

It is very odd that Ambrogio correctly expanded the text's abbreviation of `holy' while completely misunderstanding the common abbreviation of -թիւն as `-thai.' Because we know that he had extensively glossed all of his texts with Latin and seemed to understand the Armenian inflection system, this insensitivity is doubly puzzling: one interpretation is that Ambrogio's informant (John of Tabriz) spoke a denasalizing dialect (Strohmeyer, 1995, p. 174). If the final nasal colored the vowel and then was lost, we would expect to find the forms which are attested on pages 174b-175a, `-uthai, -uthene, and -uthab.'

Although there is no known dialect which has undergone such a transformation in this declension, Ambrogio's material suggests that the ablative retained its nasal due to the flanking vowels while the nominative/accusative and the genitive/dative merged into a common denasalized `central vowel' and the instrumental had the same vowel in a syllable ending in a voiced bilabial.

4. Ambrogio's printed version:

Հայր (Hair/Pater) մեր (mer/noster) որ (or/qui) յերկինս (iercins/in coelis) դես (des/es [sic]) սուրբ (surb/sanctum) եղիցի (eglizzi/sit) անուն (anun/nomen) քո (cho/tuum). եկեսցէ (eceszze/veniat) արքայութաի (archaiuthai [sic]/regnum) քո (cho/tuum) եղիցին (eglizzin/fiant) կամք (camch/placita) քո (cho/tua) որպէս (orpes/sicut) յերկինս (iercins/in coelo) և (eu/et) իերկրի (iercri [sic]/in terra). զհաց (Zhazt/Panem) մեր (mer/nostrum) հանապաչորդ (hanapazord [sic] /suprasubstatialem) տուր (tur/da) մեզ (mez/nobis) այսաւր (aisaur [!] աւ for օ/hodie) և (eu/et) թող (thogl/remitte) մեզ (mez/nobis) զպաարտիս (zpaartis [sic]/debita) մեր (mer/nostra) որպէս (orpaes/sicut) և (eu/et) մեք (mech/nos) թողումք (thoglumch/remittimus) մերոց (merozt/nostris) պարտպանաց (partpanazt [sic]/debitoribus) և (eu/et) մի (mi/ne) տանիր (tanir/ducas) զմեզ

(zmez/nos) ի (i/in) փորձութաի (phorxuthai [sic]/tentationem) այլ (ail/sed) փրկեայ (pharceai [sic]/libera) զմեզ (zmez/nos) ի (i/a) չարէ (zarae/malo). զի (zi/quem) քո (cho/tuum) է (ae/est) արքայութաի (archaiuthai [sic]/regnum) և (eu/et) զաւրութաի (zauruthai [!] [sic]/virtus) և (eu/et) փառք (pharhch/gloria) յաւիտեանս (iauiteans/insecula). Ամէն (amen [sic]/amen). (Ambrogio, 185b)

Ambrogio is as concerned with the historical origins of the Armenian letters as he is with an accurate transcription of the sounds he heard; therefore we must be careful when using his Latin rendering of the Armenian (Strohmeyer, 1995, p. 175-178).

Turning now to Postel's rendering, we recognize his phonetic acuity in his accurate and very modern descriptions of the sounds of the Armenian alphabet and are also disappointed that he gives such a short, cursory and sloppy version of the text.

Part VIII: Postel's Printed Text of 1538

Rather than spend over 200 pages on Armenian matters as does Ambrogio, Postel covers the language in only four pages within his short description of twelve alphabets. I have already mentioned the haste with which this project was completed and there are many ridiculous errors because of it.

Postel describes the Georgians with geographical accuracy and then gives the Coptic alphabet as their own. It is very difficult to explain away such an unnecessary error. (Postel, pp. 53-55) On the other hand, Postel spends more than 20 pages on Arabic and six on Greek and in these sections he is especially impressive with the phonetic accuracy of his descriptions of these alphabets' pronunciation.

Because Postel had been resident for a few years in the Levant and had visited Palestine, he might very well of gotten his information on the Georgians from pilgrims or monks in Jerusalem or at St. Katherine's in the Sinai. If this is true and if the conversations were held in Arabic, then a Georgian monk telling him about his native region may have almost immediately shown Postel a Coptic manuscript, and so have fostered the misunderstanding that became part of his later book.

It is clear from the entire chapter on the Armenians that those Armenians that he met in his travels spoke Turkish and that he considered the Armenian language a liturgical fossil: whoever served as his informant spoke a very different dialect from Ambrogio's and he did not or could not give Postel a great deal of accurate grammatical information; equally likely, Postel never asked for it. (Postel, pp. 63-66)

Postel then could offer us a good description of the music, but he did not seem to care much for the song's lyric.

5. These are the sounds Postel has heard connected with the letters:

ա (ayp, a)

բ (bpien, b.durum inter b.&p.)

գ (gqim, g forte inter q.&g.)

դ (dta, d durum inter d.& t.)

ե (iech Latinaa E. vel Graeca est e.)

զ (za/z)

է (e, i)

ը (iet/ie)

թ (to/te)

ժ (ge, g)

ի (ini/i)

լ (luen, Latina est l)

խ (che/ch)

ծ (tza, tz)

կ (qguien, g fortiter prolatum a palato.)

հ (hho H. aspirato fortis vel duplex.)

մ (mim/m)

յ (hi h. vel i.)

ն (nu/n)

շ (scha Hebraeum.)

ո (vva u. consonum.)

չ (ccha c. forte vel dupplex.)

պ (be, b Illirica buchi inversa est.)

ջ (gge ge duriusculum.)

ռ (ra, r)

ս (se/s)

վ (vief, v)

տ (tun, t)

ր (re si occludas Graeca est r.)

ց (tso s forte)

ւ (un, vel fun, vel fiun, digamma aeolicum.)

փ (puir, p)

ք (ke k vel c vel q.)

ծ (tsa ts. vel ss. durum) և ([reads as `k'] ief vel chief leniter aspirando a graecis k.)

ղ (gat g.ut profertur cum a, o, u.) $ (phe a Graecis ph.

ջ (gie g. stricta cum lingua interiori palati.) օ (ayp, iun, au, vel o. duae parte sunt literae ayp, & fiun:).

The transcription of the affricates is very poor and many sound values are based upon the Greek originals rather than the Armenian as with `yev' and 'ph'; also note that Postel explains the `huin' as a form of the lost `digamma' while also recording Ambrogio's theory that it is the `ypsilon.' (Postel, pp. 62-66) The primacy of Greek in Postel's thinking should not blind us to the phonological acuity represented in the `digamma' theory.

6. Postel's printed version:

Հայր (Hair) մեր (mer) որ (vr) յերկինս (hierchins) դես (des [sic]) սրբոյ (srboi) եղիցի (ezisi) անուն ․քո (anoncho). եկե- սցէ (ekesse) արքայութի~ ․քո (archaiothaicho [sic]) եզիցին (ezissin) կամ․ք ․քո (chamkcho) որպէս (vrbis) յերկինս (hierkins) և (ei [sic]) յերկրի (etchri [sic]). զհաց (Zachaz) մեր (mer) հանապա- (hanaba [sic]) չորդ (gsord [sic]) տուր (tour) մեզ (mez) այս (ais) աւր (aur [!] աւ for օ) և (ie) թող (touz [sic]) մեր (mer [sic]) զպաարտիս (zaabartis [sic]) մեր (mer) որպէս (vrbis) և (ie) մե․ք (mech) թողումք (tossumc [sic]) մերոց (merus [sic]) պարտպանաց (bartbanas [sic]) և (ie) մի mi) տանիր (tanir) զմեզ ի փորձու- (zamezprtzo [sic]) թի~ (tai [sic]) այլ (ail) փրկեայ (phirkai [sic]) զմեզ (zamer [sic]) ի (i) չարէ (zare [sic]). զի ․քո (zaicho [sic]) է (e) արքայութի~ (archaiotai [sic]) և (ie) զաւրութի~ (zairotai [!] [sic]) և (ie) փառ․ք (paouch [sic]) յաւիտեանս (auiteans [sic]). Ամեն (amen [sic]). (Postel, p. 65)

The `tildas' over the `tho-ini' marking abbreviations could be read as `ayps,' thus giving `-thai.' The text is straight from Ambrogio's manuscript, not his later printed version, which did not contain the `tildas' marking abbreviations.

Postel does not show a clear understanding of word division or integrity in his transliteration of the text; moreover, many of his transliterations follow Ambrogio's while others feature his own auditions, yet there are also frequent sloppy renderings that bring into question the usefulness of Postel's work.

That he renders `h' as `hh' suggests that his informant may have been from the Van area (Greppin, p.230), and his apparent mis-transliteration of `etchri' for Ambrogio's `iercri' has the interesting possibility of following the attested sound change of `r' to `t' in the New Julfa dialect as in `hetkar' for `erkar.' (Vaux, personal communication)

7. This is the second handwritten version of the prayer found on the inside pages of Ambrogio's codex #346 folio verso 22:

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս դես [sic] **ս~բ եղեցի** [sic] **անուն քո**: **եկեսցէ արքայութի~ քո եղեցին** [sic] **կամք քո որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի**: **զհաց մեր հանապ(ու/ա)զորդ տուր մեզ այսաւր և թող մեզ (զ/ջ)պաարտիս** [sic] **մեր որպէս և մեր** [sic] **թող=ամք** [sic] **մերոց պարտպանաց** [sic] **և մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութի~ այլ փրկեայ զմեզ ի չարէ**: **զի քո** (**է**) [in paretheses in the text] **արքայութի~ և զաւրութի~ և փառք յաւիտեանս: Ամեն** [sic]

Unless otherwise noted, parentheses mark questionable readings of the letters.

For reasons that are very hard to quantify, I would like to think that this version of the `Hayr Mer' written on the lower, inside cover of Ambrogio's Breviarium is Postel's first rendering of Armenian under the tutelage of Ambrogio. It largely follows the manuscript's text, but it has a few oddities that bespeak, to me, of the novelty of the attempt.

If this was Postel's first attempt to render something in Armenian, it probably preceded by a year his actual preparation of his printed book in Paris and the uncertainty about the identity of `z' recorded here becomes progressively worse as time and distance separate him from his teacher.

Part IX: Rivola's Grammar of 1624

As we have already noted, Francisco Rivola refers to Ambrogio frequently in his grammar and it is Ambrogio's version of the `Hayr Mer' that he uses to illustrate the language in the last section of short texts; however new purposes color his reading of Ambrogio and he differs from his predecessors in his ability to use Armenian as a language of daily communication.

Rivola's Armenian is a vehicle for preaching the Catholic faith and it is this purpose and his assumed Latinate substructure that accounts for the infection of the text with more contemporary forms of the noun and verb. There are also corrections of the text's misspellings, which attest to Rivola's reading in a number of Armenian texts.

8. Rivola, F., *Grammaticae armenae libri quattor*, Milan 1624 Ambrosiana. pp. 2-4:

ա	աիյբ	Ayp	A	մ	մեն	Mien	M
բ	բեն	Pien	P	յ	յի	I	I
գ	գեմ	Chiem	Ch	ն	նու	Nu	N
դ	դայ	Ta	T	շ	շայ	Scia	Sc
ե	եչ	Ieg	Ie	ո	ոյ	Vua	V
զ	զայ	Ssa	Ss	չ	չայ	Cci`a	Cc
է	է	E	E	պ	պէ	Be	B
ը	եդ	Iet	Ie	ջ	ջէ	Gge	Gg
թ	թաւ	Tho	Th	ռ	ռայ	Rra	Rr
ժ	ժե	Sgie	Sg	ս	սէ	Se	S
ի	ինի	Ini	I	վ	վեվ	Vieu	V
լ	լիուն	Liun	L	տ	տիուն	Diun	D
խ	խէ	Hhe	Hh	ր	էրէ	Ere	R
ծ	ծայ	Zza	Zz	ց	ցաւ	Zzo	Zz
կ	կեն	Ghien	Gh	ւ	հիուն	Hiun	V
հ	հաւ	Ho	H	փ	փիուր	Piur	Pp

ձ	ձայ	Zza	Zz	ք	քէ	Che	Ch
ղ	ղատ	Kat	K	և	և	Ieu	Eu
ճ	ճէ	Ge [sic]	G	ֆ	ֆէ	Fe	F

9. Rivola has the following version of the `Hayr Mer' obviously taken from Ambrogio:

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս դես: սուրբ եղիցի անուն քո: եկեսցէ արքայութի (p. 297 notes that this is an abbreviation which AT never recognized, and also mentions **-թեան** as the gen. and **քոյ** as the gen pronoun: full form given is **արքայութիւն քոյ) քո: եղիցին կամք քո որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի: զհաց մեր հանապազորդ տուր մեզ յայսաւր** [sic]**: թող մեզ** **<u>զպարտս</u>** [corrected/alternate and contemporary form of the word **պարտիք**] **մեր որպէս և մէնք** [sic/contemporary form of pronoun] **թողումք մերոց** **<u>պարտապանաց</u>** [corrected]**: և մի տար** [sic/contemporary form of imperative] **զմեզ ի փորցութիւն** [inflection corrected/ sic: he notes both spellings **ձ/ց** in his grammar, p. 17]**: այլ փրկեայ ի չարէ** [sic] **ամէն:** [sic] (Rivola, p. 294)

10. Further notes taken from Rivola's *Grammar:*

Rivola is exploring the value of 'aw' in polysyllabic words; see below for monosyllables:

p. 4:

բաւլորգիր Poluerchir **նաւտրգիր** Noderchir **երկաթագիր** Erghathachir

p. 5 **գլխագիր** Chelhhachir **ծաղկագիր** Zakghachir **գազանագիր** Chassanachir.

p. 8:

Հաւատ	Hauad	Խաւար	Hhauar
Թագաւոր	Tacauuer	Մեղաւոր	Mekauuer
Լաւ	Lau	Ծարաւ	Zarau
Նըստաւ	Nesdau	Բարկացաւ	Parghazzau

p. 9:

Here Rivola argues for a fuller pronunciation in his transcription 'Nauen, etc.) He is careful to avoid a monosyllabic reading:

ցաւն	Zzauen	Նաւն	Nauen
Լաւն	Lauen	ցաւք	Zzauch
սակաւք	Saghauch		

p. 10:

However he distinguishes the following set from the above:

Հաւր	Hor	աւծեալ	Ozial
Մաւր	Mor	աւրհնեալ	Orhnial
եղբաւր	Ekpor (sic)		
աղաւնի	Akauni	pronounced	Akoni
Թաւթի	Thauthi	pronounced	Thothi

p. 15: Sound changes: He notes the variant reading found in his Psalm text (from : Abgar of Toxath's Psalter, printed in Venice in 1565/66)

Litterae **աւ բաւլոր բոլոր խաւրհիլ խորհիլ գլաւխ գլոխ**

բ պ ամբ ps. 76.15 **ամպ** ps. 77.15 **ըմբել** ps. 35.9 **ըմպել** ps. 49.13

գ ք մագեաց (ovium) ps. 64.15 **մաքեաց** ps. 103.6

դ տ ընդրել (seligere) ps. 88.17 **ընտրել** ps. 104.25

անտառ (silva) ps. 82.14 **անդար** ps. 95.11

զ ս զգենուլ ps. 34.12 **սգենուլ** ps. 92.1 & 103.2

զգեստ (clothes) ps. 44.10 **սգեստ** ps. 103.6

p. 16:

կ գ ցանկալ (desire) ps. 61.10 **ցանգալ** ps. 83.1

խունկ ծունգ ժառանկ ժառանգ

p. 18 Theseus Ambrogio' comparisons are mentioned showing the discrepancies between Armenian and received pronunciation of Biblical names: there is no evidence that Rivola understood the dialect situation. Rivola uses Ambrogio's text extensively in his Grammar and his Dictionary, but he did not use his MSS; see below.

p. 20 De divisione litterarum Armenorum in vocales, semi vocales, et consonantes: Chapter VII.

pp. 30-31:

Examples of the use of **դես** as the second person singular form of the verb `to be.' Most of these examples from the Psalms do not appear in the Zohrabian text. In every case Rivola has misinterpretted or incorrectly divided the phrases in the Bible. None of these quotations can come from MS 347; Rivola must have other Armenian manuscripts than those in Ambrogio's possession; he may have possessed, however, the lost Psalter:

Matth. 6. The Pater Noster (not in Zohrabian)

Ps. 117, 24. **որ գալոցդես** Qui venturus es (not in Zohrabian)

Ps. 122, 1 որ բնակեալդես (որ բնակեալդ ես in Zohrabian) Qui habitas

Matth. 8 որպէս հաւատացերդ (in Zohrabian, but not in MS 347)

1 Corinthians 5 էքդ (էքդ) անխմուր (անխմորք) (in Zohrabian, but not in MS 347)

Matth. 26 վասն որոյ եկիրդ (in Zohrabian, but not in MS 347)

p. 285 Abbreviations : -թբ = -թամբ

p. 296 դես -Es: dictio composita ex littera affixa դ , quae vim habet representandi pronomen secundae personae singularis, affigturque interdum in (ir?) principio verbi, sic uti habetur fol 30., Ex secunda persona singularis Praesentis verbi substantiva, quod describitur fol 185.

11. There is only one more extended Armenian text found in Rivola, Psalm 1. It is almost certain that Rivola was using Abgar of Toxath's Psalter, printed in Venice in 1565/66 as all of the variant spellings in Rivola's text can be found there; moreover, Nercessian notes that a copy can be found in the Ambrosiana. (Frazee p. 48; Nercessian p. 47). Therefore, for the sake of completeness, I include that text as well and will give the Zohrabian variant readings in parentheses. Rivola 303-311:

երանեալէ (երանեալ է) այր որ ոչ գնաց ի խորհուրդս
Beatus est vir qui non ambulavit in consiliis
ամբարշտաց (ամպարշտաց.): ի ճանապարհի մեղաւորաց
impiorum. in via peccatorum
նայ (նա) ոչ եկաց: և յաթոռս ժանդից (ժանտից) նայ (նա) ոչ
ille non stetit. & in cathedra prauorum ille non
նստաւ. այլ յաւրէնս (յօրէնս) տեառն են կամք նորայ
sedit. sed in lege Domini sunt voluntates eius
(նորա,): և յաւրէնս (յօրէնս) ն~ր խորհեսցի նայ (նա) ի տուէ և
& in lege eius meditabitur ille in die &

ի գիշերի: Եւ եղիցի նայ (նա) որպէս ծառ որ տնկեալէ (տնկեալ

in nocte. & erit ille tanquam arbor quae plantata est

է) ի գնացս ջուրց, որ զպտուղ իւր ի ժամու տացէ: և տերև

secus decursus aquarum. Quae fructum suum in tempore dabit. & folium

ն˜ր մի Թափեսցի, և զամենայն զորինչ (զոր ինչ) արասցէ

eius non spargetur, & omne quod faciet

յաջողեսցի նմայ (նմա). ոչ այսպէս են ամբարիշտք

prosperabitur ei non hoc modo sunt impii

(ամպարիշտք) և ոչ այն պէս (այսպէս): այլ որպէս հողմ

& non illo modo. sed sicut vetus

զփոշի, զի հոսէ իվերայ (ի վերայ) երեսաց երկրի. վասն

pulverem, quoniam spargit desuper facies terrae. Propter

այսորիկ ոչ յարիցեն ամբարիշտք (ամպարիշտք) ի

hoc non surgent impii in

դատաստան: և ոչ մեղաւորք ի խորհուրդս արդաւոց

iudicio. & neque peccatores in consilio iustorum.

(արդարոց). քանզի ճանաչէ տէր զճանապարհս արդարոց:

Quoniam cognoscit Dominus vias iustorum.

ճանապարհք ամբարշտաց (ամպարշտաց) կորիցեն.

viae impiorum peribunt.

The last version of the `Hayr Mer' derived from our original manuscript was written in a separate hand in the upper, inside cover of Ambrogio's Breviarium.

It displays quite another attitude toward the prayer: a preacher's explication and paraphrase of a well known prayer into the common tongue.

Despite the many mistakes in spelling and interpretation of the Armenian letters, this is written by someone who has a basic knowledge of spoken Armenian although a lesser ability with the written, classical language.

This is just the intellectual fingerprint that would fit Rivola and I consider this text the first exercise that he attempted in the classical language: trying to discern the words that he knew by ear in a text, which he could only barely read.

This text uses only the digraph `aw' for `omega' and it is to be noted that Rivola seems completely ignorant of that letter or that he considers it an innovation that he should avoid; moreover, the slavish usage of letter-forms derived from the hand of the text suggests that the writer is a tyro.

12. The first handwritten version found on Codex #346 folio verso 22:

Հայր մեր/ որ յերկինս դես: [sic] **ս~բէ. անուն քո. եկեսցէ արքայութիւն քո եւիցի** [sic] **տ~ր կամը քո որպես** [sic] **յերկին յերկինս Մ-յ (Յ~-յ) երկրի. Զհաց մեր այաւր** [sic], **հանապա(ի/ւ)շորդ տուր մեզ: և թող մեզ ըզորսրտըս** [sic] **[ըզպաարտիս] մեր: և արժանի արայ թողուլ մերոց պարտապանաց** [corrected/Medieval Armenian paraphrase of the original]**: եմի [ըմի] տարի [տար ի] փորձութիւն: այլ փըրկեա ի չարէն** [corrected]**:** (**ք/զ)(կ/հ)պերտիս [զպարտիս] ամեն: ի սրբութիւն սըրբոց: դպ. միայն ս~բ: միայն տ~ր յ~ս ք~ս ի փառըս ա~յ հա(ւ/ի)ր [հօր] ամեն: ամեն: ամեն: ամեն: դպ հայր ս~բ որդիտ** [sic] **ս~բ հոգի ս~բ ա(ւ/ի)ր(կ/հ)նութիւն [օրհնութիւն] հաւր և որդոյ և սրբո(յ/ց) հոգւոյն և այժմ և միշտ և յաիտեանո(յ** [sic/Jesus?] **/յ)սաիտէնից** [sic] **[յաւիտեանս յաւիտէնից] ամեն** [sic]

Parentheses contain alternate readings of the handwritten letter and brackets, my suggested corrections; the writer uses two forms of `hiun,' one of which resembles a miniscule `ini' and in some cases the reading `ini' makes greater sense. His writing is modelled after the hand of the manuscript itself and this suggests that he has had no prior training in Armenian. The `tildas' mark abbreviations and the `tildas' used in the text are over the two letters.

Appendix: Speculations Upon the Sources for Rivola's 1621 Armenian-Latin Dictionary:

The 1621 Dictionary and its 1633 reprint in Paris represent the first work of Rivola's in the Armenian field. Since I have already demonstrated the extraordinary dependence upon Ambrogio that Rivola displays in his Grammar of 1624, it might be expected that similar influence could be shown in the dictionary: remarkably, that does not seem the case.

The language learning methods used by Ambrogio are generally the same across languages: extensive interlineation of well-known texts collected from the target language's community of speakers (the Bible, the liturgy, the Church Fathers, and Aristotle), the creation of a manuscript glossary (we possess the remnants of a Hebrew glossary with his autograph), the copying out of a notebook of illustrative exempla from his collection of manuscripts, and the development of a short grammar, again in some private notebooks, etc. We now possess only examples of a part of this common constellation from different languages. The remainders of his manuscripts are only complete in the case of Armenian; the existence of extensive glossaries is suggested by the partial Hebrew one at Pavia and the word lists contained throughout the *Introductio....*; a copy book of texts is attested to by the contents of the *Introductio....* and by the manuscript in his hand of Arabic passages from the Gospels (see above); finally, his *Introductio....* contains a short Arabic grammar of Egyptian and North African Arabic in Latin script as well as grammatical notes on all the languages contained therein. We can add to this his clearly attested eagerness to make contact with any and all native speakers that were resident within Italy.

As it is certain that Rivola used the *Introductio....* and that he might have had access to the Pavian collection of Armenian manuscripts (all before 1624), we might expect to find the Ambrogian Armenian glossary embedded in the Rivolan Dictionary. I have tried to find some evidence of this, but I have found only enticing suggestions that the material in the dictionary was cetainly influenced by the *Introductio...*: the spelling of

many of the long list of Biblical names in 'A' show Eastern dialect rather than Western dialect influences although that influence is not carried throughout the dictionary or the later Grammar (there we find almost only Western influence). Any evidence fo a now-lost glossary remains questionable; it may have been destroyed after Ambrogio's death or it may not have been kept with his other papers in the monastic library in Pavia.

Some selections from the peculiarities of Rivola's dictionary would expose the reader to Rivola's sources and prejudices. The 1621 edition collected for Cardinal Borromeo's new Ambrosian Library in Milan was reprinted in 1633, in a reset edition with far more compression of the text, in Paris for Cardinal Richelieu. There are no textual changes between the editions except for introductory letters to the respective patrons and the occasional misprint in the Parisian: e.g. 'ghazaros' is reset as 'ghtzaros;' where the Armenian 'a' is easily mistaken for a printed 't.'

In order to garner some evidence that Ambrogio's manuscripts had been used, I carefully examined the dictionary's lexicon, noticing that it contained a surprising number, especially in the first few letters of the alphabet, of plant names and proper names from the Bible for such a short lexicon; Ambrogio's MS 178 in the present Pavian collection opens with 12 leaves of botanical names (importantly Greek names transcribed into Armenian with an Armenian gloss) and etymologies of the names of Biblical personalities. The use of these folios would considerably skew the percentage of such items among the more common words. Moreover, many of these items are represented by two words, which would be the case for those derived from the botanical MS 178.

My conclusions, however, must be more negative than positive. Clearly, Rivola knew of Ambrogio's published work (most of the material from the manuscripts was available there), but there is little hard evidence that Rivola had the manuscripts to work from during his lexicographical work on the dictionary. This does not disprove the existence of an Ambrogian glossary; it merely suggests that Rivola did not know about it or chose, for reasons of his own, not to use it.

The dictionary does list a great number of Old Testament names predominantly in the early letters of the alphabet, and the transcription of these varies wildly between

the Western dialectal phonology and the Eastern (with the caveat, that the apparent Eastern pronunciation might be in reality an influence of the Latin or Italian pronunciation of these names). For example, Latin Achab transcribes the Armenian letters 'Ak^{h}ap, ' yet Abacuch is from 'Abaguk^{h},' Abiud from 'Abiut^{h},' and Abdias from 'Abdiay.'

This last suggests no transcription, but clearly only the normal Latin form for the Armenian one (see also Azarias from 'Azareay' and Absalon from 'Abisoghum' [the Haigazean Dictionary has 'Abesoghom' and Ambrogio's MS 346 folio recto 115 has 'Abisolom']). There may be no unique system at work here and again Ambrogio himself takes special notice of the varying pronunciations and orthographics of the same word within the Armenian community in his published work. All of this becomes a main concern of Rivola's first section on the alphabet and its pronunciation in his 1624 Grammar.

Among botanical references there are 'kinamon' (clearly Greek), 'sonk' (Haigazean and common 'sunk'; Rivola's form is common to Goris and Gharabagh according to Acharyan) and 'sisarbugh.' Unfortunately none of these are found on the manuscript list.

To continue some dialectal notes, Rivola's transcriptions repeatedly show forms missing the common initial 'yod,' especially before 'a.' It is not clear why this should be. He also displays intial 'h' before 'a' where the more common form lacks the 'h.' Examples of these cases include 'Abet^{h},' Haigazean 'Yabet^{h},' Japheth [the Grabar initial 'y' would have been pronounced as an 'h', but see below for non-psilotic forms]; 'awt^{h}anasun' 70 for Haigazean 'eôt^{h}anasun, ewt^{h}anasun, or eawt^{h}anasun' [Meillet] (see Acharyan's common 'oxt^{h}anasun' found from Tbilisi to Yerevan), and 'halivor,' old, grey bearded for Haigazean 'alewor, alowor' (Acharyan gives aspirated forms from the Western, Hamshin, and the Eastern, Yerevan, dialects and even notes initial 'x-' in Van).

Rivola includes other strange forms in his list of the names of nations: 'hapaš' Ethiopian whereas the Haigazean has 'habaš' and 'hawrmaston and hawrmerēn' (a misprint for 'hawrmastan or hôrmastan') Greece, the Greek language and the common 'hrrovm' Rome whereas the Haigazean does not recognize this form as a variant for the Byzantines' or the Arabic Rumi, and only gives it as meaning Rome or Latin, 'hrrovm, hrrom, hrrovmerēn or hormerēn.' This last example is an intriguing

remnant of an older situation when the same word had a spelling variant so as to distinguish European Rome from Anatolian Rome.

Rivola confounds Armenian 'o,' 'aw,' and 'ô,' and in his time, they would have all had the same pronunciation. In general, Rivola shows an orthographic influence from Ambrogio's manuscript Pavia 347, which always uses the 'aw' digraph for the more common 'ô;' however, no manuscript commonly renders initial 'vo' or 'o' as 'aw', while Rivola commonly does and follows Ambrogio's speculations in doing so (see *Introductio*... v174-v176)

Finally, Rivola occasionally has made an insidious error or he continues an older dialectal tradition: e.g. he lists 'ghamar' and 'aregakn' as both words meaning 'sun.' Today these would clearly represent the common collocation, 'the moon and the sun' or more commonly 'the sun and the moon.' It is hard to believe that his informant mistakenly identified 'ghamar' as the sun without actually having some basis for the semantic variant. It is possible that Rivola simply noted down heavenly bodies and forgot that they were not the same.

However, there remains the possibility that in some dialect area of Armenia, the less common word for moon, 'ghamar,' (Arabic) shifted its semantics to become 'sun.'

Part X: Examples of the *Pater Noster*:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Հայր մեր որ յերկինսդ ես. սուրբ. ան[...]
եկեսցէ արքայութիւնդ քո. եղիցի կ[...]
որպէս յերկինս նոյնպէս երկրի. զհա[...]
հանապազորդ տուր մեզ: և թող մ[...]
զպարտիսն մեր: և արձակեա մեզ [...]
մերոց պարտապանաց: և մի տանիր [...]
[illegible]: այլ փրկեա ի չարէն զի [...]
ամէն. թագաւորութիւն [illegible]: [illegible]. Մի[...]
[illegible] [illegible]. ի փառս [illegible] [...]
ամէն: ամէն. ամէն. [illegible]. Հայր [...]
ամէն: ամէն. ամէն. [illegible]. Հայր [...]
ամ. հոգի ամ. [illegible] [...]
[illegible] և [illegible] [illegible] և այժմ [...]
. Ով յաւիտեանս [illegible] [...]

. . մաթէ: 6. .

Հայր մեր որ յերկինսն ես. սուրբ եղիցի
անուն քո: եկեսցէ արքայութիւն քո եղիցի
կամք քո. որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի. զհ[աց]
մեր հանապազորդ տուր մեզ այսօր
և թող մեզ զպարտիսն մեր որպէս և մ[եք]
թողումք մերոց պարտապանաց և մի տ[անիր]
զմեզ ի փորձութիւն այլ փրկեա զ[մեզ]
ի չարէ զի քո է արքայութիւն և զօ[րութիւն]
և փառք յաւիտեանս. ամէն.
փառք [illegible]

Հայր Մեր՝ Ամբրոջիոյի 1539

EXERCITAMENTVM CHAL. LINGVAE. ~~Lucae Capi.~~ Matt. 6.

[illegible]
Ihalmidauhi. moran daæleph Zzlutho
discipulos suos. dñs nr̃ quam docuit Oratio
[illegible]
malcuthoch tihe, smoch, nethquadas dbasmaio Abun
regnũ tuũ, aduegniat nom̃ tuũ, sanctificet q̃ i cœlis Pater nr̃
[illegible]
barago oph dbasmaio aicano zzebionoch nehuæ
in terra. ita in cœlo sicut voluntas tua, Fiat
[illegible]
vasbuq iaumono, dlunquanon lahhmo hablan
& remitte quotidie q̃ sufficiat nobis panem da nobis
[illegible]
hhuan doph aicano vahhtohain, hhaubain lan
nos qđ ita sicut & peccata nr̃a, debita nr̃a nobis
[illegible]
elo Inosiuno, taglan vlo Ihhaiobain, sbaqn
Sed ad tentidũ, ducas nos & ne debẽtibꝰ nob̃, remittimꝰ
[illegible]
malcutho hi ddiloch Metul biso. men plaꝰõ
regnum est tuum Quoniã malo a libera nos
[illegible]
amin olmin loglam vtesbuhhto vhhailo
Amen. sęculorũ. in sæcula & laus, & virtus

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս ես սուրբ եղիցի անուն
Hair mer or iercins des surb eghizi anun
Pater noster q̃ i cœlis es sanctũ fit nomen
քո. եկեսցէ արքայութիւն քո եղիցին կամք քո
cho. eceszę archaiuthai cho eghizin camch cho
tuũ. Veniat regnum tuũ, Fiant placita tua
որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի. զՀաց մեր հանապազ
orpes iercins eu iereri. Zhazt mer hanapaz
sicut i cœlo & i terra. Panẽ nr̃m supsubstantia
որդ տուր մեզ այսաւր և թող մեզ զպարտս
zord tur mez aisaur eu thogl mez zpaars
lem da nobis hodie & remitte nobis debi
մեր որպէս և մեք թողումք մերոց պարտապա
tis mer orpas eu mech thoglumch merozt parta
ta nostra, sicut & nos remittimus nostris debi
պանաց և մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութիւն այլ
panazt eu mi tanir zmez i phorzuthai ail
toribus, & ne ducas nos in tentationẽ. Sed
փրկեայ զմեզ ի չարէ. զի քո է արքայութիւն
pharceai zmez i zaræ. zi cho æ archaiuthai
libera nos a malo. Q̃m tuũ est regnum
և զաւրութիւն և փառք յաւիտեանս. ամէն.
eu zauruthai eu pharhch iauiteans. Amen.
& virtus & gloria, in sæcula. Amen.

Nec quicquam in hac lingua adscribam, quam illam tantum sui authoris diligentia nostris hominibus ostendendae gratia tradendam susceperim.

De Armenica.

Hac in usu sacrorum Armenis non tantum in utraque Armenia habitantibus, ut putant vulgo, sed ubicunque Muhamedes auditur, ut in tota Asia minori, in Syria, in Tartaria, & Persia, & circa mare Ponticum: hodie negotia maxima versantur praecipue ad Taurici Chersonesum, ubi versantur in summo Turcharum Muhamedanorumque olim privilegio, ob id quod ostendunt quoddam diploma a Muhamede illis olim concessum, ubi ob beneficia quae olim ab illis gratis receperat, statuit, ne usquam servitute Muhamedicis [illegible]. Ostendunt diploma quale olim & Sinaicis[illegible] monachis in Syria donaverat ille nebulo, quod ipsum olim, cum [illegible] & veteranis illis ab Heraclio in Asia post expeditionem in Chosroe regis Persarum filium relictis, humanitate [illegible]. Servarunt Sinaienses hoc privilegium usque ad tempora Gazellis, seu Selimi Turcharum regis, cuius temporibus quum [illegible] apud Sultanum Aegyptium illum, quem vicit Selimus, eo delato ad principem, ipso privati sunt. Erat illis tale, ut Armeni [illegible] frequentes, pariter & Turchae huiusmodi affirmant, post quam [illegible] quae verba Arabica, [illegible] in atramentum [illegible] manus & digitorum imprimebat libello quod etiam nunc servant Armeni. Illorum lingua vulgaris omnino Turchica est, ut videantur sumpsisse ab illis, aut quod est vero similius, illi ab illis aut illorum finibus oriundi. Orant illi quasi more Muhamedicorum provoluti in genua & [illegible] osculantes terram, ubi Turchae tantum bis. Caeterum fuerunt usque ad tempora Eugenii IIII. in errore Nestorii, quo abnegato tum se in fidem Romanae ecclesiae penitus dediderunt. Homines usquequaque Graecis invisi, ut mallent, si lex permitteret, vel cum Turchis aut Iudaeis contrahere matrimonium quam cum illis. Duplex causa odii est, quod olim fuerit illis multa doctrinae haereseos nota, tum quod Romanis Christianis, quos nusquam vel Christianorum nomine dignarentur Graeci, consentiant. In accedunt illi moris cum Turchis in oratione communes, Graeci enim ut plurimum erecti orant. Sapiunt tamen adhuc aliquid Nestorismi, nec enim festum nativitatis celebrant, sed circumcisionis. Illorum sacrificuli triduo abstinent foeminis antequam recolant memoriam passionis Christi. Caetera sunt illis & Romanae ecclesiae communia. Sed ad rem redeo.

Characteres Armenici literis .38.

ayp a
pien b durum inter b & p.
gym g forte inter g & k.
ta d durum inter d & t.
iech latina E vel Graeca est e.
za z
e [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
ge g
ini i
liun latina est l.
che ch
[illegible]
[illegible] g fortior prolatum a palato.
[illegible] aspiratio fortis vel duplex.
[illegible] vel [illegible] durum.
[illegible] g. ut profertur cum [illegible]
[illegible] cum lingua interiori parte palati.
[illegible] m
[illegible] h vel i
[illegible] n
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] vel duplex.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] v
[illegible]
[illegible] Graeca est [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] vel [illegible], digamma aeolicum.
[illegible] p
[illegible] vel c vel q.
[illegible] vel [illegible] aspirando a graeco [illegible]
pho a Graeco ph. φ.
[illegible], vel [illegible] literae ayp, & [illegible]

In gratiam illorum qui hac lingua a nobis [illegible] utentur, [illegible] orationem dominicam [illegible] characteribus expressam & [illegible] de verbo explicatam, [illegible] in hac lingua [illegible], [illegible] peregrinationis, in [illegible] characteribus omnium linguarum, & [illegible] & typographis [illegible] reipublicae gratia [illegible] supra vires, suscepisse.

Oratio dominica, Armenica lingua.

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս ես. սու
րբ եղիցի անուն քո: եկեսցէ
արքայութիւն քո: եղիցին
կամք քո որպէս յերկինս և
յերկրի: զհաց մեր հանապա
զորդ տուր մեզ այսօր:
և թող մեզ զպարտիս մեր
որպէս և մեք թողումք
մերոց պարտապանաց. և մի
տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութիւն.
այլ փրկեա զմեզ ի
չարէ: զի քո է արքայութիւն
և զօրութիւն և փառք
յաւիտեանս: ամէն:

[illegible] 2 [illegible] 3 [illegible] 4 [illegible] 5 [illegible] 6 [illegible] 7 [illegible] 8 [illegible] 9 [illegible] 10 [illegible] 11 [illegible] 12 [illegible] 13 [illegible] 14 [illegible] Amen.

1 Pater noster qui in coelis es 2 Sanctum sit nomen tuū ven 3 iat regnum tuum. Fiat 4 voluntas tua, sicut in coelo & 5 in terra. Panem nostrum quotidiā 6 num da nobis isto die 7 & dimitte nobis debita nostra 8 sicut & nos dimittimus 9 nostris debitoribus & ne 10 inducas nos in tenta- 11 tionem, sed libera nos a 12 malo. Quia tuum est regnum 13 & potentia & gloria 14 per secula, Amen.

Descripseram plura, vt Salutationem angelicā & Regi [illegible] [illegible]

De lingua Latina.

D [illegible]

Literæ, XXII.

A a [illegible]

B b [illegible]

C c [illegible]

D d [illegible]

E e [illegible]

F f [illegible]

G g [illegible]

H h [illegible]

I i [illegible]

K k [illegible]

L l [illegible]

Mm [illegible]

N n [illegible]

O o [illegible]

P p [illegible]

Q q [illegible]

R r [illegible]

S ſ [illegible]

T t [illegible]

Vu [illegible]

Xx [illegible]

Oratio Dominicalis.

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս ես: սուրբ
Pater noster, qui in Cœlis es: sãctum
եղիցի անուն քո: եկեսցէ ար-
sit nomen tuum: adueniat re-
քայութիւն քո: եղիցին կամք քո
gnum tuum: Fiat voluntas tua
որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի: զհաց
sicut in Cœlis & in terra: Panem
մեր հանապազորդ տուր մեզ
nostrum perennem da nobis
յայսաւր: թող մեզ զպարտս մեր
hodie : dimitte nobis debita nostra,
որպէս և մեք թողումք մերոց
sicut & nos dimittimus nostris
պարտապանաց: և մի տար զմեզ
debitoribus : Et ne des nos
ի փորձութիւն: այլ փրկեա ի չարէ
in tentationem : sed libera à malo

Հայր Pater: nomen est heteroclitum ex eo genere nominum, quæ desinunt in genitiuo singulari in աւր, de quibus fol. 88.

Մեր Noster: Pronomen possessiuum commune pluribus primis personis, de quo fol. 117.

Որ Qui: nominat. singul. pronominis relatiui, de quo fol. 136.

յերկինս In Cœlis: յ Semiuocalis est littera, quæ stat loco præpositionis, In; seruitque ablatiuo, sicuti dictum est fol. 25. երկինս ablatiuus est nominis երկինք, quod est ex eo genere nominum, quæ vsu veniunt tãtùm in plurali, de quibus actum est fol. 53: dicitur autem երկինս, non verò երկինք, quia littera ք, quæ format nominatiuũ pluralẽ, mutatur in accusatiuis, & ablatiuis plur. in litteram ս, sicuti obseruatum est fol. 28., & 29. præ-

դես Es: dictio composita ex littera affixa դ, quæ vim habet repręsentãdi pronomen secundæ personæ singularis, affigiturque interdum in principio verbi, sicuti habetur fol. 30., & ex secunda persona singulari Præsentis verbi substantiui, quod describitur fol. 185.

սուրբ եղիցի Sanctum erit, vel sit, seu sanctificetur: vsurpant enim sæpissimè futurum pro imperatiuo: սուրբ nomen est adiectiuum, quod inuariabili lege deseruit tàm masculino, quàm fœminino generi, sicut notatum est fol. 42: եղիցի Erit, vel sit tertiæ personæ sing. futuri, verbi եղանիլ, de quo fol. 247.

անուն Nomen: nominatiuus sing. ex eo genere nominum, quæ desinunt in genitiuo in ան, de quo fol. 68.

քո Tuum: nominatiuus sing. pronominis possessiui secundæ personæ, cuius inflexio extat fol. 111.

cribitur fol. 180. & seq.

արքայութիւն քո Regnum tuum: արքայութիւն est nominatiuus singularis primæ speciei, Declinationis primæ, ex eo nempe genere nominum, quæ desinunt in genitiuo in թեան, de quibus fol. 69: քո Tuum: pronomen possessiuum secundæ personæ, de quo mox dictum est.

եղիցին Fiat, seu potius ad litteram fiant, tertia persona plur. futuri verbi եղանիլ, cuius coniugatio extat fol. 249.

կամք քո Voluntas tua, seu ad litteram Voluntates tuę, nominatiuus pluralis ex eo genere nominum, quæ vsurpantur in plur. tantùm, vt dicitur fol. 53, քո Tua, seu tuę: nominatiuus sing. pronominis possessiui secundæ personæ, qui etiam deseruit pronominatiuo plur., vt patet ex dictis fol. 113.

որպէս Sicut: particula similitudinis.

յերկինս In Cœlis; id iam explicatũ est.

Ablatiuus nominis Երկնէ, cuius genit. est Երկնի; quod est ex eo genere nominũ, quę vsu veniunt tantùm in singulari, de quibus fol. 53, sequiturque secundam declinationem: dicitur autem Երկնի, non verò Երկինի, quia in obliquis eorum nominum, quæ in ին desinunt in recto, contingit sæpissimè elisio vocalis ի, prout obseruatum est fol. 57., vbi agitur de elisione vocalium.

զՀաց Panem: accusatiuus sing. nominis Հաց: littera autem զ, quæ est in capite dictionis, est nota accusatiui, seruitque articuli loco, prout fusiùs dictum est fol. 25., & fol. 45.

Մեր Nostrum accusatiuus sing. pronominis possessiui communis pluribus secundis personis, de quo fol. 117.

Հանապազորդ Perennem, continuum.

տուր Da, tribue: Imperat. sing. verbi տալ, quod est ex Anomalis primæ Coniugationis [illegible]

Մեզ Nobis: Datiuus pluralis pronominis primitiui primæ personæ, à nominatiuo sing. Ես, de quo fol. 96., & sequen.

յայս օր In hoc die, seù hodie: dictio cõposita ex littera seruili յ, & pronomine demonstratiuo այս, de quo fol. 120., & nomine Heteroclito օր, quod describitur fol. 92.

Թող Dimitte: Imperat. singul. verbi Թողանել, vel Թողուլ, quod est mixtæ Coniugationis, sequiturque modò tertiam Coniugationem, modò quartam, sicuti colligitur ex dictis fol. 238., & 259.

Մեզ Nobis: de hoc datiuo dictum est supra.

զպարտս Debita: զ, est nota accusatiui, vt dictum iam est: պարտս accusatiuus plur. desumptus à nominatiuo plurali պարտք, inutaturque ք in ս, iuxta regulam datam fol. 28., & 29.

Մեր Nostra: [illegible]

Հայր Մեր՝ Թիփլոյ այի 1624

մեք : Nos : nominatiuus pluralis pronominis primitiui primæ personæ, quod describitur fol. 96.

թողումք Dimittimus : prima persona pluralis præsentis verbi թողուլ, quod est quartæ Coniugationis, ex eo genere verborum, quæ sunt mixtæ Coniugationis, assumuntque initio tertiæ personæ singularis præteriti vocalem ե, de quibus fol. 257.

մերոց Nostris : Datiuus pluralis pronominis մեր, cuius declinatio extat fol. 117.

պարտապանաց Debitoribus: Datiuus plur. nominis պարտապան, quod est ex nominibus primæ speciei, declinationis secundæ, de quibus fol. 74.

մի տար Ne des : մի est particula prohibitiua : տար est forma imperatiui verbi տալ, quæ forma reperitur vt plurimum, cõiuncta cùm particula negatiua մի, prout obseruatum est fol. 179.

զմեզ : Nos : accusatiuus pluralis pro-

ի փորձութիւն In tentationẽ : ի, est præpositio valens, in : փորձութիւն, est nomen substantiuum ex eo genere nominum, quæ desinunt in nominatiuo in ութիւն, de quibus fol. 69.

այլ Verùm, sed:

փրկեա Libera : imperatiuus singularis verbi փրկել, quod est primæ speciei, Cõiugationis secundæ, prout colligi potest ex exemplari huius speciei, fol. 188.

ի չարէ à malo: ի præpositio seruiens loco præpositionis Latinorum, à, ab, de: չարէ est ablatiuus nominis : չար Malus, seu substãtiuè malum, quod nomen est secundæ speciei, Declinationis tertiæ: dicitur autem in ablatiuo ի չարէ, quia ablatiui sing.: quorumcunque nominum quando habent præuiam vocalem ի, vel յ significantem A, vel Ab, vel De, desinunt vt plurimum in է, prout obseruatum est fol. 52.

Chapter V: A Detailed Philosophical and Linguistic Commentary on All of the Remaining Armenian Texts Found in the *Introductio...*

Part I: A Return to Ambrogio's Philosophy of Transcription:

The first order of business is to examine just what Ambrogio and Postel have to say about Latin as a language among their languages. This will give us a clear guide concerning Ambrogio's subsequent use of Latin as a transcriptional instrument:

Ambrogio's transcription instrument is the Latin alphabet and it would be most proper if we carefully examine the actual connections (historical/geneological, etymological and philosophical/theological) that Ambrogio posits between Latin and its various precursors.

The translation of Ambrogio's comments on Latin follow. What becomes apparent in his use of Latin as a transcription medium is that he does not recognize the crucial differences between Latin based and other alphabets discussed by Gamkrelidze in a recent book. Gamkrelidze and many Western commentators (Gelb, Jensen, etc.) note that the Latin alphabets are not phonetic/phonemic instruments establishing a unitary sound (usually a phoneme) connected to a unitary sign; rather, the alphabet uses a limited number of signs to represent sounds in the language in at least three ways: 1. Sign = phone, 2. combination of signs (2, 3 or 4) = phone, 3. sign/signs in a syllabic or word position = phone (initial 'd' does not equal medial 'd' does not equal final 'd'; 'c' can have at least three values: s, k, and ch).

Most other alphabets have attempted to limit this sort of variation, but Ambrogio posits just such a potential multi-valency as common to all alphabets. In addition, Ambrogio has at least two pure syllabaries among his illustrated 'alphabets,' the Ethiopic and the mysterious Vuandalic (see below), and many grammatoligists of the early Semitic alphabets classify all of these as actually quasi-syllabaries (see Gelb). This will become clearer as we examine the minutiae of his argumentation and transcription of Armenian.

The translation from Folio 11: **Latinorum Vocales. The Latin Vowels**

'Latini quinque tantum vocales habent .a. .e. .i. .o. & .u. tam & si .y. ypsilon, pro Graecis nominibus additum sit.'

'Latin possesses five vowels: a, e, i, o, and u; to these has been added y ypsilon from the Greek. '

This succinct passage is followed by a commentary on the seven Greek vowels, which Ambrogio finds as well in the following alphabets that he gives examples of in an appendix to his book: Egyptian, Babylonian, Saracenic, Hieroglyphic, Gothic, Etruscan, Aeolic, Magian, etc. (Folios 191-207) This he pronounces the cardinal and divine system ordained by God in the Highest for the best comprehension of mankind. (Folio verso 11)

The translation from Folios 28- recto 30: **De Latinorum consonantibus. Concerning the Latin Consonants**

This section begins with a long excursus on the actual value of two intrusive letters into the original Latin alphabetical repertoire, y and x, and this inaugurates a tempestuous prayer for the confederation of all Christian peoples against the advancing Ottomans. This confederation would ally itself with the non-Christian enemies of the Turkish Emperor and defeat him once for all. Ambrogio considered his book a philosophical and lingistic beginning to this great enterprise. Note that the present English pronunciation of initial 'x-' is always voiced and that this pronunciation was not unknown in Northern Italy (Ramat) and, indeed, this may be the very origin of the present English usage (as well as the French, who are probably intermediaries). The phonetic substance of this chapter begins on recto 29:

'Sunt itaque Latinorum consonantes sexdecim, videlicet. b. c. d. f. g. k. l. m. n. p. q. r. s. t. x. z. Quarum .B. prima cum Chaldaico. Beth, & Hebraico. ב Beth, convenit.C. cum. Coph, vel. כ Caph..D. cum Dolad, & ד Daleth, .F. cum. Phe, vel פ Phe. .G. cum. Gomal, &. ג Gimel. .K. secundum aliquorum opinionem cum utroque Chaldaico. Quoph, scilicet, & Hebraico. ק Koph, sive Quph. .L. cum. Lomad, &. ל Lamed. .M. cum. Mim, &. מ Mim. .N. cum. Nun, ac. נ Nun. .P. ut de .F. paulo supra a dictum fuit cum litera, .Pe. quae & Phe, dicitur. .Q. non secus atque .K. cum Quoph, ac Quph. .R. cum. Ris, &. ר Res. .S. cum. Somcath, &, ס Samech. Nec non & cum, Scin Chaldaico, &. שׂ Scin Smol sinistro, videlicet &. שׁ Scin, Iamin dextro, nimirum Hebraico, de quo alias mentione fecimus, & si opportunum fuerit in sequentibus recordabimur, cum faenore aliquo. .T. cum. Teth, & ט Teth. Thau , atque. ת Thau. .X. cum. ξ. .Z. cum. Zain & ז Zain, ac duplicatum .zz. cum. Zzode, &. צ Zzadich, seu Tsade; ut aliqui asseverant.

Quibus omnibus Samaritanorum, & Punicorum consonantes, sup (ut supra dictum fuit) ordine conveniunt, quin Graecorum quoque de quibus singillatim dicemus, facta tamen prius Latinorum consonantium partitione. Dividuntur quippe in semivocales, mutas, & liquidas. Semivocales sunt .f.l.m.n.r.s. & vastior illa quam supra diximus .x. quae aliquando pro .c.s. aliquando vero .g.s. atque pro duplici .ss. a maioribus fuit accepta. Mutae autem sunt .b.c.d.g.k.p.q.t. & .z. Aliqui tamen grammaticorum eti .i.f. &.h. aspirationis notam inter mutas numerandas esse censuerunt. Liquidae vero sunt, quas Graeci immutabiles vocant. l.m.n.r. Et de Latinis haec dicta sufficiant consonantibus. Esset tamen hoc loco curiosis satisfaciendum, quaerentibus seu potis sciscitantibus, scireque cupientibus. Inter consonantes .i. & .u. vocales, cum sunt consonantes, quem nam sibilo cum vendicent, tam inter mutas, quandoquidem & ipsae vocales natura existentes, mutis adnexae voce addant. An in semivocalium numero, cum omnino a voce sibi in sita vocales dicant & sint. An forte in liquidarum consortio, quod saepe liquescant...'

'Latin has sixteen consonants, namely: b, c, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, x, and z. The first 'b' coincides with Chaldaic Beth and Hebrew ב Beth. 'C' with Coph and כ Caph; 'D' with Dolad and ד Daleth; 'F' with Phe and פ Phe; 'G' with Gomal

and ג Gimel; 'K' according to some opinions with Chaldaic ܩ Quoph and Hebrew ק Koph or Quph; 'L' with ܠ Lomad and ל Lamed; 'M' with ܡ Mim and מ Mim; 'N' with ܢ Nun and נ Nun; 'P' has the same origin as 'F' above, Pe [sic] and Phe; 'Q' not otherwise than 'K' Quoph and Quph; 'R' with ܪ Ris and ר Res; 'S' with ܣ Somcath and ס Samech; there is no letter corresponding to Chaldaic ܫ Scin nor evidently to Hebraic שׁ שׂ Scin in its two variants and this is particularly interesting; 'T' with ܛ Teth and ט Teth or ܬ Thau and ת Thau; 'X' derives from Greek ξ; and 'Z' with ܙ Zain and ז Zain and 'doubled zz' with ܨ Zzode and צ Zzadich or Tsade.

All of these coincide equally with the consonants of Samaritan and Punic, which we have discussed individually above and with the Greek, which will be discussed below. These Latin consonants can be further divided into their sound classes: semivowels, mutes and liquids. The semivowels are f, l, m, n, r, s, and x understood as representing the combination of either cs, gs, or ss (this was commented upon more extensively in the first section of this chapter). The mutes are b, c, d, g, k, p, q, t, & z. The letters i, f, and h, aspiration, are numbered among the mutes by some grammarians. The true liquids, which in Greek are always voiced [noted in the same words in Postel, 1538 Folio verso 23], are l, m, n, & r. Further consonants can be detected through an analysis of the positional sounds of some vowels: i and u, for example, are numbered among the mutes when they precede other vowels...among the semivowels... or among the liquids...'

The relationships between alphabets here are sometimes historically mistaken, while the phonetic information sometimes also contradicts modern and even intuitive categories.

'C,' for example, is clearly a variant on 'G' and both are descendents of Gimel; 'F' is derived from Digamma which is a variant of Vau (a theory that Ambrogio noted on Folio verso 28, but apparently dismisses). The origin of 'K' is the same as 'X', from Greek, and the latter is not directly derived from ξ but from Chi χ which had a different value in Greek Italian colonial alphabets.

The classifications of the letters according to sound classes has some other peculiarities: does semivowel mean continuant and why is voicing ignored among the mutes? The answer to the first question is complicated as the aspirated 'F' is both a semivowel and a mute. Yet, why are not z (in the next section on Greek Zita and Lambda are both designated semivowels, Folio recto 30), y, and u included among the semivowels rather than among the mutes? Ambrogio does not see 'voicing' as a crucial characteristic of alphabets. What is clear is the mutability of the phonetic value of the letters and their classifications; obviously, this is one feature common to the Semitic alphabets, where vowels and consonants are frequently positional variants, and phonological variants (s/sh, b/v, d/dh, etc.) having the same shape but varying by means of dots or other diacritics.

Aristotle had broken down the letters into vowels and consonants and these latter further into semivowels and mutes; moreover, Donatus (c. 350 A.D.) listed the following as semivowels: f, l, m, n, r, s, & x. (Collinge, pp. 796-797) This matches exactly with Ambrogio above and Postel below, yet both of them were under the influence of Hebrew grammarians, who had adopted Arab articulatory descriptions. Thus, men like Reuchlin (his Hebrew grammar was published in 1506) made available to all what had come to many through the Jewish scholars in Europe. (Collinge, pp. 811; see Folios 86-87 for the full system and a reference to Reuchlin)

As a comparative discussion of the same material and which no doubt influenced Ambrogio, we can examine Postel's three folios (34-37) on the Latin letters in his book of 1538. He borrowed heavily from Ambrogio's materials throughout that book, but, as he was the better practical linguist, he may have advised the older man on linguistic particulars. We must note, however, that Postel's impressive alphabetical charts frequently contain surprising errors: he lists β, γ, δ, as 'tenues' when they are correctly characterized as 'mediae' in Ambrogio. (Postel 1538, folio verso 25; *Introductio...* folio recto 32)

His account of the characteristics of the letters' sound values and their classes are remarkably similar to Ambrogio's: five or six vowels; sixteen or eighteen consonants (depending upon the consonantal values of i & u); h is merely aspiration and neither

vowel nor consonant (an interesting position as h can be considered the voiceless vowel); x and z are borrowed from the Greek and the latter is either sd or ss; nine mutes, b,c, d, f, g, k, p, q, & t; seven semivowels, f, l, m, n, r, s, & x; four or six liquids (if one includes y and u), l, r, m, & n. Postel goes on to make further fine distinctions: labial, dental, gingival, palatal, & guttural (the last is defined as a, e, i, o, u, & h, which last derives from an original f with evidence from the Spanish development of Latin, which is a reverse of common etymological understanding!). He then introduces a long section on the accent and a bibliographical essay for further research.

There are three difficulties facing us when we start to utilize the information stored in Ambrogio's transcription system:

1. He had no inclination to create special signs to signify new phonetic items in any of his languages. He felt that he could transcribe any language with the unmodified Latin alphabet (this of course was something that the Poles, Czechs and Lithuanians would have told him was an absurd restriction).

2. He largely decided to maintain the simple values of the Latin letters, and he was not religiously consistent in his use of Latin letter/s for a particular Armenian (or any other alphabetic) letter. However, the rich range of fricatives and affricates in Armenian (far richer than any of his Semitic languages' repertoires of such sounds) is quite beyond the Latin alphabet's possibilities without new signs (see Czech) or extensive di- and trigraphs used consistently (see Polish).

3. We do not know if the contradictions of the text, which was assembled in the last year of Ambrogio's life while he was very ill, represent the final state of his knowledge of the languages or are just the hastily assembled fragments of a life's work without any last editing (although the book may have gone through two separate printings while Ambrogio was still alive). I strongly feel that much here comes from different moments in Ambrogio's learning of his languages and that the informant that might give one section surprising accuracy may be lacking in a closely following section, making Ambrogio prone to foolish errors in transcription and interpretation.

Thus, Ambrogio's transcribed Armenian often seems less than recognizably pronounceable although he displays an ample knowledge of syllable structure and word

division on particular pages, as we shall see in the commentary. The whole does not amount to a proper description of the language (something Rivola's reverent use of Ambrogio's materials makes available a century later), but there is much that must detain us as insightful and even exciting if we can discern the system that underlay his use of the Latin letters: did he use a Northern Italian pronunciation? did he sometimes use Latin, French, Spanish and Italian dialectal values? did he take advantage of the orthographic confusion within Northern Italy, where Venetian standard looked far more like Modern Portuguese or Catalan rather than Modern Italian (Postel, 1538 notes the sibilant pronuncition of 'x' in Spain)? Certainly, letters like x, ss, zz, tz, zt, g, s and ch all appear as transcriptions of affricates or fricatives, while g and ch also appear as unquestioned transcriptions of stops, yet sometimes of different stops (aspirated and unaspirated). Often two or three different transcription decisions are made on the same page.

One possible interpretation of the last situation is that one represents the place of articulation or voicing, while another represents the stridency or period of production. This may be doing some special pleading for a simply unedited last moment attempt to put down a life's work; yet, why would he have waited to the last?: he was a respected teacher and bibliophile, who had been praised for his erudition by numerous scholars from across Europe. How much of this is last moment thoughts and how much well digested fragments from a life-long habit of taking notes?

The least one can say is that Ambrogio consistently transcribed each letter of the Armenian text (often with two or even three letters) showing no clear indication of the placement of schwa or of homorganic epenthesis (some dialects do not display this) so that reproduction of the actual pronunciation from the transcription would be difficult for anyone unfamilar with the original language; however, one could very easily learn to read the language accurately from the transcription. We have already discussed Postel's description of the alphabet's pronunciation and Rivola's method for learning pronunciation.

Besides the phonological observations, we must consider his morphological interpretations as well. He is quite capable of writing a clear description off some of the inflections of the -թիւն-thiwn declension on one page and to be wildly of the mark on a closely following page. For some reason, he seems quite aware of the normal

manuscript abbreviations at one point and then consistently misinterprets them in most of the book. I have considered the possibility that there may be some evidence for a dialectal contamination of his interpretation: could a lost Armenian dialect have consistently denasalized final syllables after moving word stress to the penultimate (None of the surrounding major languages of the Caucasus show this pattern; Persian, Turkish, Georgian and Armenian show ultimate stress; the Armenian Polish community could be the source of the variation if Polish had a strong affect on the Armenian spoken there, yet Ambrogio's informant claims to be a Tabrizi)?

We will take a second look at these questions as we go through all of the Armenian materials at Ambrogio's disposal.

Part II: The Selection of Longer Armenian Texts Found in Ambrogio's *Introductio...*

1. Ambrogio's Armenian Exercises folio verso 190 and verso 191, Matt. 5 & 10; Matt. 10 is taken from Pavia MS 347 recto/verso 67: The parenthetical text is from the Zohrabian Bible and the italicized words mark variant readings found in Ambrogio. Where there is no transliteration given, there was none in Ambrogio's text.

Մաթեոսի. ե.

երանի աղքատաց *հոգով* (հոգւով), զի նոցա է *արքայութիւն* (արքայութիւն) երկնից. (:) երանի սգաւորաց, զի նոքա մխիթարեսցին. (:) երանի հեզոց, զի նոքա ժառանգեսցեն զերկիր. (:) երանի որ քաղցեալ և *ծարաւիւիցեն* (ծարաւի իցեն) *արդաinvertedրութեան* (արդարութեան) , զի նոքա յագեսցին. (:) երանի ողորմածաց, զի նոքա *ողորմութիւ* (ողորմութիւն) գտցեն. (:) երանի այնոցիկ որ սուրբ են սրտիւք, զի նոքա զա~ծ *տեսզեն* (տեսցեն). (:) երանի *խsicաղաղարարաց* (խաղաղարարաց), զի նոքա որդիք ա~յ կոչեսցին. (:) երանի որ

հալածեալիցեն (հալածեալ իցեն) վ~ն *արդարութ~ե* (արդարութեան), զի նոցա է *արքայութիւն* (sic corrected in emendations folio 215) (արքայութիւն) երկնից. (:) երանի է ձեզ յորժամ նախատիցեն զձեզ, և հալածիցեն, և ասիցեն *զա*(inverted) (զամենայն) բան չար *զձէն քստս* (զձէնջ սուտ) վն իմ. (:) ցնծացէք, և *ուրախլերուք* (ուրախ լերուք), զի վարձք ձեր *բազումեն* (բազում են)յերկինս.

երկոտասանիցն առաքելոցն անուանքն.
ի մաթէոսի. ժ.

Առաջին *սիմոն* (Սիմովն) (,) անուանեալն Պէտրոս (,) և *Անդրեաս* (Անդրէաս) եղպայր նորա. *Յակոբոս* (Յակովբոս) *զեբեդա* (Զեբեդեայ). և *Յոհաննէս* (Յովհաննէս) եղբայր նորա. (,) փիլիպպոս և բարթողոմէոս. թովմաս. և *մաթէոս մաքսաւորն* (մատթէոս մաքսաւոր). *Յակոբոս ալփեա* (Յակովբոս Ալփեայ) և ղեբէոս որ անուանեցաւն թադէոս. *սիմոն* (Սիմովն) կանանացի. և *Յուդայ* (Յուդա) *սկարիովտացի* (Իսկարիովտացի) որ և *մատնեացիսկ* (մատնեացն) զնա.

Evangelium Matthaei Armenice. Cap. I, verso 196, recto 197, and verso 197; the text is taken from Pavia MS 347 recto/verso 75:

Աւետարան ըստ մաթէոսի.

գիրք *ծննդեան* (ծննդեան) յսուսի քրիստոսի *որդոյ* (որդւոյ) դաւթի. *որդոյ Աբրահամու(inverted)և* (corrected on folio verso 215 to Աբրահամու). Աբրահամ *ծնեօ* (ծնաւ) զիսահակ. իսահակ ծնաւ զյակովբ. իակովբ ծնաւ *զյուդայ* (զյուդա) և զեղբարս նորա. *յուդայ* ծնաւ զփարէս և *զզարայ* (զզարա) ի թամարայ. փարէս

ծնաւ զեզրովն. եզրովն ծնաւ զարամ. Արամ ծնաւ զամինադաբ. ամինադաբ ծնաւ *զնայասովն* (զնաասովն). *նայասովն* ծնաւ *զսաղմոն* (զսաղմովն). *սաղմոն* ծնաւ զբոոս ի *Հռեգեբայ* (Հռագաբայ). բոոս ծնաւ *զյովբէթ* (զյովբէդ) ի Հռութայ. *ովբէթ* ծնաւ զյեսսէ. յեսսէ ծնաւ զդաւիթ արքայ. դաւիթդ ծնաւ *զսաղովմոն* (զսողոմովն) ի կնոջէն ուրիայ. *ս(inverted)աղովմոն* ծնաւ զրոբովամ. րոբովամ ծնաւ զաբիայ. Աբիայ ծնաւ զասափ. Ասափ ծնաւ զյովսափատ. յովսափատ ծնաւ զյովրամ. յովրամ ծնաւ *զոզիա(inverted)յ* (զոզիա). *ոզիայ* ծնաւ զյովաթամ. յովատամ ծնաւ զաքազ. Աքազ ծնաւ *զեզեկիայ* (զեզեկիա). *եզեկիայ* ծնաւ զմանասէ. մանասէ ծնաւ զամովս. Ամովս ծնաւ *զյովսիայ* (զյովսիա). *յովսիայ* ծնաւ *զեքոնիայ* և զեղբարս նորա. () առ *գերութենէն* (գերութեամբն) *բաբելացիոց* (բաբելացւոց). (:) Յետ *գերութենէն* (գերութեանն) *բաբելացիոց* ծնաւ *յեկոնիայ* զսաղաթիէլ. սաղաթիէլ ծնաւ զզորաբաբէլ. զորաբաբէլ ծնաւ զաբիուդ. Աբիուդ ծնաւ *զեղիայկիմ* (զեղիակիմ). եղիակիմ ծնաւ զազովր. ազովր ծնաւ զսա(inverted)դովկ. ս(inverted)ադովկ ծնաւ զաքին. Աքին ծնաւ *զելիուդ* (զեղիուդ). *ելիուդ* ծնաւ *զելիազար* (զեղիազար). *ելիազար* ծնտ(sic)ւ զմատթան. մատթան ծնաւ զյակովբ. իակովբ ծնաւ զյովսէփ զայրն մարեմայ. որում *խաւսեցեալ* (խօսեցեալ) զմարիամ կոյս յորմէ *ծընաւ ն* (ծնաւ) յեսուս որ անուանեցաւ քրիստոս. (:) Արդ *ամ* (ամենայն) ազգն յաբրահամէ մինչև ի *դաւութ* (sic) (դաւիթ) ազգք չորեք տասանք. և ի *դաւթէ* (sic) (դաւիթէ). մինչև ի *գերութեին sic,* *բաբելացոց* (գերութիւնն բաբելացւոց). ազգք չորեք տասանք. և ի գերութենէն *բաբելացոց* մինչեւ (sic) ի քրիստոս ազգք չորեք տասանք.

2. The text of Luke, Chapter 1 found in Ambrogio's *Introductio...* verso 189; the text is taken from Pavia MS 347 verso 71-recto 73:

ի աւետարան ըստ ղուկաս. ա.

մեծացուսցէ անձն իմ զտ˜ր և ցնծացաւ հոգի իմ յա˜ծ *փրկիչիմ* (փրկիչ իմ) զի հայեցաւ ի *խոնարհութ˜ի* (խոնարհութիւն) աղախնոյ իւրոյ. զի *ահայ այսմհետէ երանիցեն ինձ ա˜մազգ.ք* (ահա յայսմ հետէ երանեսցեն ինձ ամենայն ազգ.ք). զի արար ինձ մեծամեծս *հզաւրն* (հզօրն): և *ս˜բէ* (սուրբ է) անուն նորա. և *ողորմութ˜ի նռա* (նորա) ազգաց յազգս երկիւղածաց իւրոց: արար *զաւրութ˜ի* բազկաւ իւրով: ցրուեաց *զամպարտաւանս* (զամբարտաւանս) *մտաւ.ք* սրտից իւրեանց: քակեաց *զհզաւրս* յաթոռոց. և բարձրացոյց զխոնարհս (:) զ.քաղցեալս լցոյց բարութ˜բ և զմեծատունս արձա(inverted)կեաց ունայնս: պաշտպանեաց իւ˜ի ծառայի *իւրոյ* (իւրում). *յիշելող զողորմութ˜ի իւր* (յիշել զողորմութիւնս) (:) որպէս *խաւսեցաւ* առ հարս մեր Աբրահամու և զաւակի նորա յաւիտեան.

The following is added which is a common Catholic refrain to the liturgical use of the *Magnificat*:; see the Latin translation; the spelling of 'long o' and the clear 'l' of Alleluya shows that it is taken from Pavia MS 346 folio verso 96 (with some variations):

դըշխոյ երկնի բերկրեալ ա(inverted)լելուիա. վասն զի զոր արժանի եղերբ (sic; misdivided, but correctly divided in manuscript by Ambrogio himself) առնալ (sic) ալելուիա. արդ համբարձաւ որպէս ասացն ալելուիա. աղօթեա վասն մեր զածուծոյ ալելուիա.

Regina coeli laetare alleluya, Propterea quia quem meruisti portare alleluya. Nunc resurrexit sicut dixit alleluya. ora pro nobis deum alleluya. (Folio 190r)

MS 346 Folio Verso 96 ('Regina coeli' is written in the margin in Ambrogio's hand; I will maintain Ambrogio's indicated word division): **դշխո երկնից ուրախլեր ալելուիա. վս~ զի զոր արժանի եղեր բառնալ: ալելուիա. յարեաւ որպ~ ասացն ալելուիա. աղաչեա վս~ մեր զած~ ալելուիա.**

The variant readings above in the printed text exist on the same page in a number of the responses in the litany itself.

3. The Introit from the Mass for St. Ambrose (already introduced above): Pavia MS 346 folio verso 140:

1. (Folio recto 152) Vel etiam sine affixo pronomine ut si Divi Ambro (Ambrose of Milan) sit orationem Arminice his verbis dixeris. This is from Pavia MS 346; see *Missale Romano*, 1946 p. 1313. The feast of Saint Ambrose is today on Dec. 7, but it was on April 4 in Ambrogio's day. In the following transcription, the third line is according to the Meillet system:

Ա~ծ որ ժողովրդեան քում յաւիտենական

Astuzt or zoglΩrdean chum iauitenacan

Ac' (abbreviation) or zhoghovrdean k'um yawitenakan

Deus qui populo tuo aeternae

փրկութ~ե զերանելին Ամբրոսիոս սպասաւոր

phercuthene zeranelin Ambrosios spasauor

p'rkut'e (abbreviation) zeranelin Ambrosios spasawor

salutis beatum Ambrosium ministrum

հատուցեր պարգևեա աղաչեմք զի զոր

hatuzter pargeuea aglazemch zi zor

hatuc'er pargewea aghach'emk' zi zor

tribuisti, praesta quaesumus ut quem

վարդապետ կենաց ունեաք ի յերկրի.

vardapet cenazt vneach i iercri

vardapet kenac' uneak' i yerkri

doctorem vitae habuimus in terris

բարեխօս ունել արժանասցուք ի յերկինս.

barehhos vnel arxanaszzuch i iercins.

barexos unel arzhanasc'uk' i yerkins.

intercessorem habere mereamur in coelis [sic?].

Note that this text is found in MS 346 folio verso 140 and that the text there has all of the errors found in Ambrogio: the most surprising is the doubling of the prepostion 'i' in 'i yerkins' and 'i yerkri.' This is found throughout the manuscript.

From `Missale Romano' ed. 1946: Liber Usualis Missa et Officii page 1313 Oratio Dec. 7: Deus, qui populo tuo aeternae salutis beatum Ambrosium ministrum tribuisti: praesta, quesumus; ut quem doctorem vitae habuimus in terris, intercessorem habere mereamur in coelia (sic?). P.C.D.N.

4. My next item is a version of the 'Ave Maria' found in his exercise section. The Armenian Apostolic Church does not commonly include this Medieval 'Dominican' Catholic prayer in its liturgy. Note that this prayer is woven into theLiturgy of the first two Sundays of Advent found in MS 346, Folios 18 (23)- 22 (27) **Լուր Մարիամ կուսդ Քի˜....** It is obviously built on Luke 1: 28-35: **Ուրախ լեր, բերկրեալդ, Տէր ընդ քեզ: և նա ընդ բանսն խռովեցաւ, և խորհէր ընդ միտս թէ որպիսի՝ ինչ իցէ ողջոյնս այս: ... Մի՛ երկնչիր, Մարիամ, զի գտեր շնորհս յԱստուծոյ: և ահա յղասջիր և ծնցես որդի, և կոչեսցես զանուն նորա Յսուս: Նա եղիցի մեծ, և Որդի Բարձրելոյ կոչեսցի:** (Folio recto 186) Salutatio Angelica:

Long o rather than aw is characteristic of Pavia MS 346 (The prayer as here up until the words 'orovayn k'o' is found on folio recto 217):

ուրախլեր մարիամ. լի շնորհօք տեար

Vrahhler Mariam. li snorhoch tear

uraxler mariam. li shnorho(long)k' tear

Letare Maria. plena gratia dominus

ընդ քեզ. օրհնեալ ես դու ի կանայս. և

iendchez. Ωrhneal es du i canais. eu

e(schwa)ndk'ez. o(long)rhneal es du i kanays. ew

tecum. benedicta es tu in mulieribus. et

աւրհնեալ է պտուղ որովայն քո. տեար

aurhneal æ ptugl orΩain cho. tear

awrhneal e(long) ptugh orovayn k'o. tear

benedictus est fructus ventris tui. dominus

մեր իեսուս քրիստոս. սրբուհի աստուծածին

mer Iesus Christos. Srbuhi astuxaxin

mer iesus k'ristos. srbuhi astucacin

noster Iesus Christos. Sancta dei genitrix

միշտ կոյս մարիամ. Աղօթեա վասն մեր

mist cois Mariam. Aglothea vasn mer

misht koys mariam. Agho(long)t'ea vasn mer

semper virgo Maria. Ora pro nobis

զմելաւորքս (մեղաւորքս) այժմ և ի ժամն զմահու

zmelauorchs aizm eu i zamn zmahu

zmelawork's ayzhm ew i zhamn zmahu

peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis

մերում. Ամեն.

merum. Amen.

merum. Amen.

nostrae. Amen.

There are a number of texts of this prayer handwritten into the empty pages of Ambrogio's Armenian manuscript MS 346. One includes Armenian musical notation. The following is the canonical translation found among the Mechitarians:

From <<Փոքրիկ Հաղորդասէրը>> (patrastec' H. Yakob V. C'ant'ayean), Venice: Tparan S. Ghazaru, 1952, (no pagination on copy):

Ողջոյն քեզ, Մարիամ, լի շնորհօք, Տէր ընդ քեզ, օրհնեալ ես դու ի կանայս և օրհնեալ է պտուղ որովայնի քոյ Յիսուս:

Սրբուհի Մարիամ, Մայր Աստուծոյ, պարեխօսեա վասն մեր մեղաւորացս, այժմ և ի ժամու մահուան մերոյ. ամէն:

The inside cover of MS 346 has the following version of the prayer. The page is water damaged and the text is heavily superscribed with traditional Armenian musical diacritics; however, it can be completed as it is a copy of the text on folio recto 221 MS 346 (the first lines of this up to 'i k'anays' is also found on folios recto 139 & verso 197 of MS 346):

Ողջ լեր , Մարիամ, լի շնորհօք, Տէր ընդ քեզ, աւրհնեալ ես դու ի կանայս և օրհնեալ է պտուղ քո որովայնի:

Երջանիկ իսկ ես սուրբ կոյս Մարիամ, և ամենայն գով... The remainder is very difficult to discern due to water damage to the paper, but I continue from the original within the text: **գովեստից արժանաւոր վ~ն զի ի քեն ծագեցաւ արեգակն արդարութե~ քս~ ած~ մեր:**

There is a strange mixture of wording here that reminds one of the text in the *Introductio...* and the text of the traditional Catholic Armenian version found among the Mechitarians; we must remember that MS 346 is a translation by a Catholic Armenian Dominican and devotion to the Virgin and the actual development of the 'Ave Maria' is thought to be St. Dominic's primary focus and the focus of his order subsequently.

5. Ambrogio verso 191; The Apostles Creed: the text is taken from Pavia MS 346 folio recto 45; the Catholic Creed would normally be found in such a book and the orthography agrees with that manuscript rather than with MS 347. Note also that the spelling of the name Pontius Pilatus shows the influence of the Latin clear `l' rather than the more normal Armenian spelling with the guttural. This tendency continued as Western names were adopted into Armenian.

The English version is (as I remember): I believe in God the Father Almighty creator of heaven and earth, and Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. He was judged by Pontius Pilate, crucified, died and was buried. He descended into Hell and on the third day rose from the dead. He ascended into heaven. He sits at the right hand of the Father Almighty. He will come again to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, in the holy Catholic Church, in Communion of Saints, in the remission of sins, in the resurrection of the body and in the life eternal. Amen.

Latin: Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem coeli & terrae. Et in Iesum Christum filium eius vnigenitum dominum nostrum. Qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex Maria virgine. Passus sub Pontio Pilato Crucifixus mortuus & sepultus. Descendit ad inferos in tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Ascendit in coelos. Sedet ad dexteram patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos. Credo in sanctum spiritum. In sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam. In sanctorum communionem. In remissionem peccatorum. In corporum resurrectionem. In vitam aeternam. Amen.

Armenian: Հաւատնէ զԱռաքելոցն. Հաւատամի (sic) յա~ծ Հայրն ամենակարօղ ստեղծօղն երկնի և երկրի. և ի յսուս քրիստոս յորդի նորա միածին ի տեարն մեր. որ յղացաւի Հոգոյն սուրբոյ ծնեալ ի Մարիամա կուսէն. չարչարեալ ընդ Պոնտացով Պիլատոսիւ խաչեցեալ մեռեալ և Թաղեալ. էջ ի դժոխս Յերրորդ յաւուր յարեաւ ի մեռելոց. ել ի յերկինս. նստի ընդ աջմէ Հօր

ամենակարողի. Անտի գալոցէ դատել զկենդանիս և զմեռեալս. Հաւատամ ի սուրբոին (sic) **Հոգին. ի սուրբուհի եկեղեցի կաթօլիկէ. ի** ***սուբոցն*** (sic miscorrected on folio 215 to **սուրբոցն** rather than the correct **սրբոցն**) **հաղորդութաին. ի թողութաին** ***մեզաց*** (sic corrected on folio 215 to **մեղաց**). **ի մարմնոց յարութին. իկեանսն** (sic) **յաւիտենականս. Ամէն.**

The text found in Pavia MS 346 Folio recto 45:

Ճաւատամ ի յա~ծ հայրն ամենակարող ստեղծողն երկնի և երկրի: և ի յս~ քս~ յորդի նր~ միածին ի տր~ն մեր: Որ յղացաւ ի հոգոյն սրբոյ ծնեալ ի մարիամա կուս էն. Չարչարեալ ընդ Պոնտացով Պիլատոսիւ խաչեցեալ մեռեալ և թաղեալ: էջ ի դժոխս: Յերրորդ յաւուր յարեաւ ի մեռելոց: ել ի յերկինս: Նստի ընդ աջմէ հօր ամ~կղի: Անտի գալոցէ դատել զկենդանիս և զմեռեալս: հաւատամ ի սբ~ հոգին: ի սրբուհի եկեղեցի կաթօլիկէ: ի սրբոցն հաղորդութի~ն.: ի թողութի~ն մեղաց: ի մարմնոց յարութի~ն պ~տ ի կեանսն յաւիտենականս: Ամէն:

There are obviously many mistakes in the entire -t'iwn declension or possible strong dialectal influence (perhaps nasalization). The translation is in an Armenian Catholic Missal/Breviary of the 14th century from the Kaffa colony.

This Creed is not the one adopted by the Armenian Apostolic Church and has quite a separate history within the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman World (see Burn pp. 221-240) .

6. Examples of Ambrogio’s Printed Language Exercises:

EXERCITAMENTVM CHAL.

Salutatio Angelica.

ܫܠܡ ܠܟܝ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܠܝܬ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ
tabutho maliath MARIAM lech Slam
gratia, plena MARIA tibi Pax
ܡܪܝܐ ܥܡܟܝ ܘܡܒܪܟܬܐ ܐܢܬܝ ܒܢܫܐ ܘܡܒܪܟܘ
vambareccu bnese anth vambarectho gamech morio
& bñdict, i mulierib, tu & benedicta tecum dominus
ܦܐܪܐ ܕܒܟܪܣܟܝ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܬܝ
marthi mshiho IESVGA dabcarsech phiro
domina messias IESVS q i vẽtre tuo fructus
ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܐܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
daloho emo quadistho bthulho Maria
Dei mater sanctissima virgo Maria
ܐܬܟܫܦ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܚܛܝܐ ܗܫܐ ܘܒܙܒܢܐ
vabsogtho hoso hhatoie hhlophain ethcaasph
& in hora nũc peccatoribus pro nobis ora
ܕܡܘܬܢ ܐܡܝܢ.
Amin. dmautan
Amẽ. mortis nostræ

EXERCITAMENTVM ARMEN.

Salutatio Angelica.

ուրախլէր մարիամ . լի շնորհօք տէար
Vrahhler Mariam . li snorhoch tear
Letare Maria . plena gratia dominus
ընդքեզ . օրհնեալ ես դու ի կանայս . և
iendchez . urhneal es du i canais . eu
tecum . benedicta es tu in mulieribus. &
օրհնեալ է պտուղ որովայն քո . տէար
aurhneal æ ptugl orwain cho . tear
benedictus est fructus ventris tui . dominus
մեր յիսուս քրիստոս. սուրբ ծի աստուածածին
mer Iesus Christos . surbuhi astuaxain
noster Iesus Christus . Sancta dei genitrix
միշտ կոյս մարիամ աղօթեա վասն մեր
mist cois Mariam . Aglothea vasn mer
semper virgo Maria Ora pro nobis
զմեղաւորքս այժմ և ի ժամն զմահու
zmelauorchs aizm eu i zamn zmahu
peccatoribus nunc & in hora mortis
մերում . ամէն.
merum . Amen .
nostræ . Amen .

I.EXERCITAMENTVM CHAL.

[illegible]

Canticum Genitricis Dei.

Magnificat anima mea dñm. Et exultauit spiritus meus, i deo salutari meo. Quia respexit i hũilitatẽ ãcillæ suæ, ecce enim ex hoc bonum dabunt mihi progenies omnes. Quia fecit mihi magna, q potens est, & sanctũ nomẽ eius. Et misericordia eius a generatione & progenie super illos qui timẽt eũ. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo, & dispersit superbos in cogitatione cordis eorum. Deposuit potentes de sedibus, & exaltauit humiles. Esurientes impleuit bonis, & diuites dimisit inanes. Suscepit israel puerũ suũ, & recorda. ẽ misericor. suæ. Sicut locutus est cũ patribus nostris, cum Abraham, & cum semine eius in sæcula.

Ioannis. I.

De plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus. Et gratiam pro gratia. Propterea quia lex per manum Moisi data est. Veritas & gratia

EXERCITAMENTVM ARMEN.

Իաւետարանն ըստ ղղուկաս. ա.

Մեծացուսցէ անձն իմ զտր̅ և ցնծացաւ
հոգի իմ յա̅ծ փրկիչիմ զի հայեցաւ ի խոնա
րհութիւն աղախնոյ իւրոյ. զի ահայ այսմհետէ
երանիցեն ինձ ամենազգք. զի արար ինձ մեծա
մեծս հզաւրն. սրբէ անուն նորա. և ողորմու
թիւն նուա ազգաց յազգս երկիւղածաց իւրոց:
արար զաւրութիւն բազկաւ իւրով: ցրուեացզամ,
պարտաւանս մտաց սրտից իւրեանց: քակեաց
զհզաւրս յաթոռոց. և բարձրացոյց զխոնարհս
զքաղցեալս լցոյց բարութեամբ և զմեծատունս
արձակեաց ունայնս: պաշտպանեաց իւր ծա
ռայի իւրոյ. յիշելով զողորմութիւն իւր որպէս
խաւսեցաւ առ հարս մեր աբրահամու և
զաւակի նորա յաւիտեան.

ՈՒՐախ լեր երկնի բերկրեալ ալէլուիա վասն զի
զոր արժանի եղեր առնալ ալէլուիա. արդ
համբարձաւ որպէս ասացն ալէլուիա. աղօթեա
վասն մեր զածուծոյ ալէլուիա.

EXERCITAMENTVM ARMEN. 190.

Ex euangelio ſecundum Lucam, Cap.I.

Magnificabit anima mea dominum. Et exultauit ſpiritus meus i deo ſalutari meo. Quia reſpexit ad hūilitatem ancillæ ſuæ. Quia ecce poſt hoc beatā dicēt me oēs generationes. Quia fecit mihi magna qui potēs eſt, & ſctū eſt nomē eius. Et miſericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum. Fecit potentiam in brachio ſuo, diſperſit ſuperbos mente cordis ſui. Depoſuit potentes de ſede, & exaltauit humiles. Eſurientes impleuit bonis, & diuites dimiſit inanes. Suſcepit iſrael pueꝛum ſuum, recordatus miſericordiæ ſuæ. Sicut locutus eſt ad patres noſtros Abraham, & ſemini eius in ſecula.

Regina cœli lætare alleluya. Propterea quia quem meruiſti portare alleluya. Nunc reſurrexit ſicut dixit alleluya. Ora pro nobis deum alleluya.

Part III: Ambrogio's Remaining Short Armenian Citations: These will also appear in their Latin transcription as found in the text.

Recto 5:

Ambrogio's very preface to the reader begins with his pronunciational and orthographic obsessions: Zzode vero, vel Zadich, quoniam fortem exposcit in prolatione enunciationem, ut Punicorum, Armeniorumque pronunciatio in Chaldaica, & Hebraica litera evitetur, per facilia sunt. Ista si diligenter observaveris, facile e labyrintho victor reverteris, & tute per orbem universum ambulabis.

Recto-Verso 14-16:

Ambrogio discusses his introduction to the languages of the East through the commands of the Most Reverend Cardinal of the Holy Cross. These induced him to seek out the learned Jews of Rome and to learn Arabic and Syriac from a Maronite Deacon, Elias, even as he was teaching the other Latin.

With the sacking of Pavia, he laments the destruction of his books: Factumque est, ut in illa immani clade, ac patriae ruina, omnia quoque mea, liborum inquam Chadaeorum, Syriorum, Armeniorum, Hebraeorum, Graecorum, variumque; aliarum linguarum gratam suppellectilem, quam magno mihi praecio comparatam ex urbe Roma in patriam mecum advexeram, simul cum ipsius patriae miserabili casu, in uno fere temporis momento perdiderim...an illud Ioan. Potken, qui in Indiam atque Aetiopiam, Chaldaeam transferre voluit; quin potius forsitan & Armenicam Chaldiam, quandoquidem Chaldia regio quaedam Armeniae est, & Armeni (ut iam dictum est) & copiose a nobis de monstrabitur, a sinistro ad dextraum latus, Graecorum Latinorumque more scribunt, si cui & Indiquorum Psalterium (ut iam praefatisumus) in publicum pro Chaldaeo edidit. At qui relictis tandem Indis ad Armenios veniamus. Et illos quoque vocales habere, & quo nam modo cum Chaldaicis, Hebraicis, Samaritanis, & aliis recensitis literarum varietatibus conveniant demonstrantes, palam pro virili nostra parte faciamus.

Verso 16 **The Armenian Vowels**

All of the Armenian citations in the texts will be commented upon where necessary. If Ambrogio's transcription differs from the Classical, or from the Eastern or Western dialect, it will be noted. Phonetic realization will be in // and my transcription will be in a modified version of the Meillet-REA system.

The first letter **այբ** `aip' (Western pronunciation) `ayb' (Eastern pronunciation and Classical transliteration), **Ա, ա,** he connects these with the Semitic aleph of every variant.

Ambrogio will include in the category vowel any Semitic letter found in a name that is subsequently transliterated as a vowel in that name's rendition in Greek, Armenian, Latin, Old Church Slavic, etc. See further comments with tables on folios 143-144. The example is **Աբրահամ** 'Abraham' (the Eastern pronunciation and classical transliteration); the Western dialect would pronounce this name `Apraham.'

The fifth letter is **Ե** iech. Tne pronunciation of this letter's name would seem to be /jek^{h}/ if we follow the canons set out by Ambrogio himself, but the actual Armenian name is closer to the pronunciation, /jetš/ and this allows us to speculate that Ambrogio himself allowed the digraph 'ch' to have at least two values: /k^{h}/ and /tš/.

The transliteration 'hhezron' of **Եզրովն** seems to be the typographer's mistaken repetition of the transliteration of the following Syriac, which indeed is properly transliterated with initial hard breathing.

Է 'ae' is a strange transliteration for this letter usually transcribed as 'long e.' The example does not actually use this at all: **ովբէթ** 'ovbeth' does not distinguish the quality of the 'e.'

Ը 'iet' is another odd form given that it ignores the normal `schwa' like quality of the vowel. This vowel would have been particularly difficult to give an Italian equivalent and Ambrogio compares it with Macedonian vowels, which can be close.

Recto 17

The example ըստ մաթէոսի 'iest Matheosi' reminds us that a pronunciation closer to 'i' is not urkown in Armenian dialects: Agulis shows a wide range of reflexes (Greppin, 1986).

ի 'ini' is not very controversial and its example is equally commonplace իսահակ 'Isahach' although the aspiration of the final 'k' in the transliteration causes problems.

խ `che vel hhe' is a very odd candidate for a vowel indeed, except that modern phoneticians often class 'h' and its rougher cousins as voiceless vowels. Again the value of 'ch' is very much muddied as it has been used for three Armenian phones/phonemes on these two pages alone. The example is խաւսեցեալ 'hhausezeal.'

հ 'ho' is also considered a vowel and its example is a repitition of 'Abraham.'

ձ 'ie, hie,and gie' give a wide range of conflicting values for this letter. The examples all reflect the last value: ձերվազի 'geruazi' (the early typographers did not distinguish between v/u),

Verso 17

վիձիլիա 'vigilia' is a transliteration of a Latin word from Pavia MS 346 and is written with a definitely `Western Armenian' phonology, and կարիձին 'charigin' scorpion is incorrectly declined in an oblique form with a deictic particle (it should read կարձին 'chargin' with the loss of the unstressed 'i' in the genitive and shows the Western pronunciation of ձ although the initial consonant is voiceless as in the Eastern dialects and it is again unexpectedly aspirated.

The last example ձերոնիմոս 'Hieronymos' is usually transliterated with an initial 'ho' as 'Heronimos.' (See the 'Nor Bargirk'). The supposed example with this initial letter justifies the second value given it and comes from the same MS 346.

Յ and յ (this letter is one of the few in the font with a capital variant) 'i' has the value /j/ and can be a consonant or a part of a diphthong; however, Ambrogio does not know its Medieval and modern initial pronunciation as aspiration. He transliterates Յակովբ 'Iacob' and յովրան 'ioram' (although he has incorrectly written 'ioran' in the Armenian)

as these were pronounced in the 5th century and are sometimes pronounced in Agulis and other dialects (Greppin, 1986; Jahukyan, 1972; Acharyan, 1952).

ո 'vuo vel vua' (with the normal homorganic 'v' in intial position) is illustrated by բոոս 'Boos.'

վ 'vief, vieu vel viech' has a lengthening effect on 'vuo' which it follows and replicates the Greek 'Omega.' Here he first mentions Postell: Tribus enim istis nominibus appellatum animadverti, cum proximis his mensibus Venetiis essem, & cum Armenico quodam, una cum Guilelmo Postello Ambollataeo Gallo, viro multarum linguarum gnaro, qui paulo ante e Bizantio in Italiam venerat, verba facerem, si quidem inter caetera ab eo non modo postulavi, verum etiam efflagitavi: ut alphabeti literas proferret, quod dum benigne faceret, ad id vel maxime animum adverti, ut enunciationem istius literae comprehenderem, quam modo vief, modo vero viev; ac demum viech, appellabat...

Recto 18:

Thus, our previously noted `Iacob and Ioram' could also be transliterated յակովբ `Iacoub and յովրամ Iouram.' In this way the Armenian has Յովսէփ 'Iouseph.'

Verso 18:

ւ 'yun vel iun' is clearly derived from Greek Ypsilon. It can have a consonantal and a vocalic pronunciation: դաւիթ 'Dauith,' եւսէբիոս 'Eusebios' or աւգուստոս Augustos. When added to 'vuo' it creates 'u' as in Greek: իուդայ ծնաւ զփարս և զզարայ ի թամարայ 'Iudai csnau zPhares eu zZarai i Thamarai.' (Note the misuse of 'i' for proper 'y' in 'Iudai.') When it is added to ա 'ayp' it creates a diphthong that can also be written with the 'long o': Աւգուստինոս Augustinos or օգուստինոս Ogustinos.

Recto 19:

Aypyun has the same theological value as the AlphaOmega of the Greek.

Verso 38:

Matthew 27, 46; Mark 15, 34: **էլի (էղի) էլի (էղի) լամա (ղամա) սաբաքթա[** inverted**]նի** 'eli eli lama sabachthani': note that the aspirated 'k' is given the value 'ch.' The Matthew text is found in Pavia MS 347 Folio recto 5.

The Lectionary from Kaffa may have been influenced by the Vulgate pronunciation of the quoted Aramaic as the received text has the normal 'guttural l' used to transliterate Greek words.

Psalm 22 (21), 1: **Աստուծ (Աստուած) Աստուծ (Աստուած) իմ նաեաց առ իս ընդեր (ընդէր) թողեր զիս** 'Astuz Astuz im naieaz arh is iendier tholier zis.' (the text is from Pavia MS 346; the pronunciation of the word for God is Ambrogio's interpretation of the abbreviation and it is not Grabar, but the colloquial): note the 'i' in 'naieaz' that suggests that Ambrogio's transliteration is something more than a faithful literal record (although 'ie' normally transcribes **ը**, it is also an alternate transcription for **է**; the Oskanean Bible of 1666 has **նայեաց**); also note that the strengthened 'r' is marked with aspiration (a feature found in Meghri dialect if this serves as a mark of voicelessness) (Greppin, p. 117). Note that the Zohrabian text is included in the parentheses.

The transcription of the guttural 'l' in 'tholier' as a clear 'l' is probably a typographer's error; Ambrogio regularly uses 'gl' to transcribe this sound and this should be read as a 'g' plus an 'l' not as the Italian digraph for a palatal 'l.'

The context of the Armenian quotation is quite interesting. Recto 38 is entitled as an ostensible discussion of the consonants of the Indic or Ethiopic Alphabet, yet like much of Ambrogio's book it begins with a long excursus (the preceding chapter on the Greek Consonants ended with a three folio long detailed discussion of the construction and materials of his uncle Afranius' new musical instrument the phagotus). The excursus discusses comparatively the text of the Bishop of Nebbio's Chaldaic Psalter, which

contained an Arabic translation, which appears in Karshuni in Ambrogio. Thus the text of Psalm 22 (21) is compared with its variants in the Indic (Ge'ez), Hebrew, Arabic (Karshuni), Armenian, Greek, Macedonian, and Dalmatian, either from the Psalm or from its quotation in Matthew or Mark on the lips of the crucified Jesus.

The breadth of his references are best understood by a quotation of all of the transcribed texts (only the Syriac, Armenian, Greek and Hebrew are also in their original alphabets). The purpose here is to examine the apparent disagreement between the texts of different traditions of translation. He divides the material into two sets: 1. Those having the addition of the phrase 'respice me' 'Look at me; attend me' to the words of the Psalm; 2. Those traditions lacking those words. He has clearly set out two distinct textual traditions and is among the first scholars to realize the inherent lability of the translated texts of the Bible. Surprisingly he does not note from his Lectionary the Armenian interpretation of Jesus words in Matthew found just below his quoted Aramaic: **Աստուած իմ Աստուած իմ ընդէր թողեր զիս.** (Pavia MS 347, Folio recto 5) He would have then displayed that the two traditions were complicatedly intertwined even as they are in the Vulgate text itself.

Psalm 22: Ge'ez: Amlachia, amlachia: nazorani, vualmont: hhadagani:

Arabic (intepretation of Jesus' Aramaic): Alhai Alhai antar ali, lmada ia alhai tractni.

Greek (interpretation of Jesus' Aramaic): Ho theos, ho theos mu, prosches mi, ina ti encatelipes me. This text with 'prosches mi' is not found in our modern text and is from the Septuagint Psalms

Latin: Deus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti?

Armenian: Astuz Astuz im naieaz arh is iendier tholier zis.

Macedonian: Boge Boge moi vienmimi, viescuiu ostauime.

Dalmatian: Boge Boge moi vanmimi vschuiu me ostaui.

Hebrew: Eli, Eli, lamma azauthani.

Syriac: alohi, alohi lmono sbachthoni.

Chaldaic (Aramaic in Hebrew letters mistransliterated): eli eli matul ma (sic: matul ham) scbaqtani.

Arabic (Karshuni): alhai alhai lmadi tractni.

Armenian (Matthew): eli eli lama sabachthani

Greek (Matthew): hili hili lama sabchthani (sic: mistransliterated: text has 'sabachthani'). The actual present Greek text of New Testament has the following: eloi eloi lema sabchthani, but it notes Ambrogio's as a rejected reading; however, without initial aspiration.

Greek (Mark): eloi eloi lama sabachthani.

The texts display the various traditions originating in a Greek world and those originating in a Semitic tradition, knowing the Hebrew. Although St. Jerome translated from the Hebrew, he kept the Old Latin (Greek based) text of the Psalms; moreover, although the Peshitta usually followed the Greek text, the Syriac Psalms are heavily influenced by Targum and Hebrew texts. Thus we can see a clear division of the textual traditions, with Jesus' cry clearly representing the Targum. (, 1977, 286-330)

The Ge'ez material is from Potken's Psalter, whose arguments with Ambrogio over the identity of Ge'ez as the true Chaldaic were famous among scholars, see especially Postel. (1538)

When he finally returns to the Indic letters (he has no font for the alphabet unlike Postel and Potken), his discussion clearly assumes the genetic relations between the Semitic languages Hebrew, Syriac (Chaldaic), Arabic, and Indic (Ge'ez). The same relations are more clearly stated by Postel (1538, folio 23) in his short description of Indic.

Folio 50:

The description of the Vuandalic alphabet begins on folio 50 amidst a description and a formal comparison to other alphabets of the Coptic letters. Most of the comparisons are based upon shape rather than phonology.

The Vuandalic letter is described thus: Vigesima prima consonans dicitur .gieusa. vel .ieusa., ac .hieusa, cum aspiratione leni. . ut apud Armenicos in suo .gie. . & videtur esse lamaliph Punicum, & vuandalorum prima alphabeti litera , quae .aha. dicit, & .a. literae fungitur officio, triplicemoque habet insinuat .g. scilicet .y. & .hy. ut in Armenicis conformationibus dicetur.

Verso 51:

Առ գետս բաբելացոց 'Arh giets babielazoz' (Psalm 137:1) The Armenian is incorrect as the Zohrabian text reads **Բաբելացւոց** 'Babelac'woc'.' Note that the form 'giets' ignores the normal pronunciation **գետըս.**

Verso 56:

Պատարագս ոսկի և կնդուկ և զմուռս Patarags osci ieu cnduc ieu zmurhs. (Matt. 2, 11 The mistakes in the text are all found in Codex 347 recto 24) Note that the consonantal pronunciation of the initial 'o' is not written and 'cnduc' should read 'cndruc.' Zohrabian text: **Պատարագս ոսկի և կնդրուկ և զմուռս:**

Recto 57:

The Armenian is provided in the context of a discussion of the Macedonian alphabet's letter 'k;' Psalm 119 (120) is cited for its use of the word **կեդարու** 'ciedaru,' which is found with an initial letter 'k' or 'c' in the Armenian, Greek, Latin, Dalmatian, and Macedonian translations. The word is an ethnonym, Kedar.

Recto 58:

Armenian is mentioned in a very astute discussion of the development of homorganic consonants in various forms of common Biblical names in different languages. The context is his discussion of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic letters having the phonetic value 'yod' which often parallel cognate names possessing a fricative. His example is the name John from the New Testament: 'in istis nominibus Ioannis, & Ioannon, prima litera est de qua i presentia loquimur, & a qua facile potuit originem traxisse, quod in usum pene communem venit, ut cum in sermone materno, Ioannis, & Iuuenis nomen scribere intenimus a .g. incipimus dicentes, Giovanni, & metathesi facta .u. literae in omicron, seu mavis, & rectius, meo quidem iudicio, in omega, & in eam prolationem, qua Indi literas .Sabo. idest septimae stantiae proferre consueverunt in .o. nimirum obtusum, quod scilicet tendere in .u. videatur, ut etiam de Armenico .vuo. cum .viech. simul connexo, insuperioribus dictum fuit, Giovane, dicimus, non tamen ob hoc ultra tres syllabas protendimus.'

Recto 60:

Մաննա [inverted] manna; note that the letter ayp inverted is used as a common abbreviation for the oft repeated word 'all' throughout the Lectionary, MS 347. Thus, a common error in the setting of Ambrogio's fonts could be influenced by its use in his manuscript exemplars.

Recto-Verso 71:

The Armenian letter փ is used for the Greek 'Phi'; this is clearly a type-setter's error.

Ահա լուաք զընմանէ յեփրաթա 'Ahha luach zienmane iiephratha.' (Psalm 132; from MS 346) This transliteration shows extra aspiration for the first word, yet establishes a clear marker for aspirated voiceless stops with the digraphs, 'ch,' 'ph,' and 'th.' The Zohrabian has զնմանէ.

Verso 72:

սաղմոս 'salmos' He notes the loss of the initial 'p;' also note the use of a clear 'l' to transcribe the guttural.

Recto 75:

In the context of 'De Literis quae puncta Rubea intra se, infra, supra ve admittunt Chapter VI,' Armenian is mentioned as many of the Chaldaic letters remind him of their various cognates. With Gomal comes գ .Gim. vel .Chim. and with it is mentioned .ժ. Ge. decimae Armeniorum literae, quae etiam. Ye. & .Ze. & .Xe. dicitur, personam induit.

Recto 76:

Speaking of Dolad in the above context, Ambrogio mentions: sicut Daleth Hebraeum dagessatum, & ծ Tza, quarta decima in ordine Armenici alphabeti litera, sicut .D. omnium aliarum linguarum, cum praefertim duram pro dictionis ratione expostulaverit enunciationem.

Teth brings us to: .տ. Tun seu Tuen trigesimae primae Armenici alphabeti literae, nec non & .դ. TA vel Da (utroque enim modo in eodem alphabeto appellatur) vocem sonumque atque potestatem nobis repraesentat. ... .թ. Tho nonae Armeniorum...

Verso 76-Verso 77:

These pages discuss and illustrate the varieties of the letter 't', 'c', and 'p' in a number of alphabets, Latin, Greek, Macedonian, Dalmatian, Hebrew, Samaritan, Punic, Coptic, and finally Armenian. The three values of the dental stop are compared in Armenian: դ Tun seu Tuen, տ Ta vel Da, and թ Tho. With the guttural stops, we have կ Chien vel Gien and ք Che; the letter գ Gim/Kim is not mentioned. With the labial

series, we even have the fricative: բ Bien vel Pien, պ Pe vel Be, փ Piur vel Psiur, and ֆ Phi.

Verso 83:

In a paragraph discussing the various national forms of common Christian names he notes: Nam sicuti in superioribus pro .u. prosuerunt .o. sic & aures consulentes, ipsum .o. verterunt in .u. ut patet in pluribus nominibus, quae tam Graece, quam Armenice, per .os. scribuntur, a nobis per .us. proferuntur. ut Valerios, Chrysostomos, Valerius, Chrysostomus.

Recto 85:

He compares the Greek Omega and the Armenian ա Ayp to the Arabic consonant doubling 'Shadda' because of their similar shapes and perhaps because of the length implied by Omega.

Verso 86:

By a printers error, Armenian ծ is used for Syriac Teth. The correct letter is used on verso 88.

Recto 87:

Inserted into a discussion of the technical details of pronunciation and the buccal instruments is the following: His instrumentis proferuntur Hebraeorum, Samaritanorum, Chaldaeorumque literae quamquam duriori quodam modo obtusoque magis, & hiatus, & rictu Chaldaeorum, Syrorumque elementa enuncientur. Quod & Punicis, Armenicis, & Indis ac caeteris literarum varietatibus intelligendum est, ut clare cognoscere possumus, ex veterum Hebraeorum libris, in quibus de hac re tractatur, ac etiam ex traditionibus

quam plurimis, tempribus nostris in re grammatica editis, praesertimque a Ioanne Reuchlim, docto illo phorcemse, qui primus ianuam imperii (ut de Julio Caesar dicitur) apervit, qui scilicet primus (nifallor) docte, eleganter, & integra fide christianus christianis linguae factae rudimenta traddidit, nec non & ex aliis quamplurimis aliorum libris, eorum qui post illum de hac rescripserunt. Quantum vero ad Graecarum Latinarumque literarum prolatione, instrumentorumque easdem proferendi vatiatatem pertinety & spectat, qui diligentius, atque exactius ea cupit intelligere, Graecorum imprimis veterum, ac recentiorum, grammaticorum codices revolvat, quin & latinos, Martianum Capellam, & Priscianum Caesariensem, ac alios qui post eos scripserunt perlegat grammaticos, a quibus abunde haurire poterit, ac sitim tantae rei, si non penitus extinguere, at saltem aliquantulum sedare, vel mitigare poterit. De qua re, mens fuerat, aliqua in praesenti nostra traductione declarare, verum in aliud tempus distulimus, in quo (si Deo optimo maximo placuerit) alia quaedam una cum Aegyptiorum literis, & alphabeto alio, quam ab Horo traditum sit; Vergilii quoque antiqui, cuisusdam philosophi, Apoloniique illius magi, sive mavis magni Tianei, Babyloniorum, aliorumque multorum varia alphabeta, in lucem dabimus. Nunc vero satis nobis visum fuit, ista utcunque delibasse, ut ad literarum explicandarum expeditionem veniremus.

In this passage, Ambrogio clearly mentions his major linguistic and grammatical influences.

Recto 96:

This page is not noted in the table of contents' list of pages mentioning Vuandalic. The discussion concerns the 'spiritual' power of various languages and their alphabets--especially in the numerological area: Hanc Hebraei, Chaldaei, Samaritani, Syri, Armeni, Graeci, & Latini, & inter graecos qui Augasiam, & Carthaeam, sive ut aiunt temporibus istis Tzarcasiam **τῆς μεγάλης ἰβηρίας ἣ πρός πέρσας ἐστί. Tis megalis iuirias hi pros persas esti.** magnae scilicet iberiae (quae inter Persas est) incolunt. & Gorgi, & Iacobitae, & Cophtitae, & Virgilius quidam insignis quondam Graecus Philosophus, & magnus Tianaeus Apolonius, & hi qui grammata quae hieroglyphica

vocantur scripsere, in suis alphabetis quintam in ordine literarum posuerunt. Indi in primo, Macedones, Missii, Russii, Dalmatae, suam huic respondentem literam in sexto literarum numero habent. Persae, Turcae, Tartari, Arabes, & Punici, & Maomtani fere omnes literam huiusce potestatis in antepenultima, vigesima scilicet septima sui alphabeti sede, collocarunt, tametsi etiam .He. in sexto ordine possideant. Vuandali quoque in undecima sui alphabeti numeratione literam .ℵ. .Ed. reponunt, quae licet pro .e. accipi possit, non tamen simpliciter .e. intelligitur, sed simul .e. & .c. coniuncta elementa intelligenda sunt. Istas numerorum obseruationes hoc in loco recensui, ut animum aduertant, qui ne dum pythagoricas verum etiam patrum Hebraeorum sacras in numeris computationes, (& praecipue in illarum alphabeti Hebraici literarum observatione, quae in divinis aliisque mysticis nominibus & sacris insertae sunt) non ignorant, & oculos ad hanc vel maxime .He. literam convertant.

Verso 98:

Quod multo magis in Chaldaico Vau conspici potest, cum orbis sit in se reuolutus, atque (ut de aipiun Armenico dictum fuit) reflexus, principio & fine carens.

Recto 108:

Iccirco optime quidem (meo iudicio) Hebraeorum grammatici, tam veteres, quam recentiores dixerunt, cauendum esse ne una litera pro alia proferatur. Hinc apud Punicos, Arabes, Armenos, Indos, Macedonas, Dalmatas, Graecos, & Latinos, & caeteros, de quibus insuperioribus verba fecimus, orta, inuentaque, ne dum literarum, verum etiam accentuum, ac punctorum tot diuersa genera.

Recto 111:

In quo autem Lamed, cum Chaldaico Lomad, & Punico Lam, ac Armenico Lun, atque cum caeterarum linguarum similis virtutis litera, conueniat, in superioribus satis dixisse arbitramur, in praesenti propterea loco, ulterius non progrediemur.

Verso 122:

ծադէ 'Tzadæ vel Zzadæ' is from the names of the Hebrew alphabet found on verso folio 144. The list is from Pavia MS 178 folio 5. His usual name for this Hebrew letter is Zadech or Zadik although 's'adhe' is the modern name for the letter. The Armenian name is far closer to the Syriac name, Zode, and all of this is part of Ambrogio's argument for the greater antiquity of the Chaldaean over the present Hebrew alphabet. However, it is more interesting to note the various digraphs that Ambrogio uses to represent the Armenian letters; it is clear that he is intending a voiceless affricate.

We should also note that in the numerical use of the various alphabets, the Semitic order and values are kept in the Greek with the exception of this letter; it is missing from the Greek repertoire except as a numerical addition used only in counting. Often a mystery for Ambrogio entails the numerical value more than the phonetic. (Gamkrelidze; Ambrogio, folios 132-135)

Recto 132:

Chaldaeorum mos est, per alphabeti literas, numerationes computare, sed nouem unitatibus ab Olaph usque ad Iud, in primo numerandi ordine utuntur. A Iud vero ad reliquorum numerorum structuram, alium ordiuntur numerandi modum. Eodem modo Hebraeos, Arabes, Armenios, Graecos, Macedonas, & Dalmatas, uti compertum est. Punici vero, Latini, & Indi, aliis notis sive ciphris in numeris insinuandis, vario, ut quisque primum ex cogitauit modo, effigiatis, utuntur.

Verso 141:

Caeterum ut quod principio pollicitisumus, tandem prosequamur praeter ea etiam quae de Armeniorum literis iam dicta sunt ad caeteras literas explicandas descendamus. Prius tamen candidum lectorem admonitum esse cupimus Armenios, Latinorum, Graecorumque more, sinistro in dextrum latus scribere.

Verso 142-Recto 144 is already part of the text.

Verso 144:

The use of the Hebrew letters as a Kabbalistic seal or charm is well attested; however, Ambrogio creates his charm through the medium of the Armenian alphabet. He used a sort of printed sticker that had the Hebrew alphabet's names in Armenian letters. This is found a bit damaged around the edges on the cover-pages of MS 346:

Ալեփ բեթ գամել դաղեթ
Հէ վաւ զէ խեթ տեթ Յ[mirror-image**]ոդտ**
քաբ ղամեդ միմ նուն ս [written as Omega so as to resemble a capital**] ամ**
աթ եց փէ ծադէ կօփ րե...

It is derived from the etymological list found in a translation of Philo's work in MS 178 and the same list appears below.

One this page we find a list of the Hebrew alphabetical names from Pavia MS 178. In two cases, the 'shin' and the 'samkath,' the printer uses unique type faces to more closely emulate the actual manuscript appearance of the capital letters of the words on the list (see above; Ambrogio's font had only three infrequently used capitals, **Ա, Յ, Պ**): see below. Ambrogio thinks that the list comes from Porphyry's commentaries on Aristotle (which is bound together with the manuscript of these names and a list of Hebrew names and their explanations probably from Philo): **Ալեփ** aleph ('aleph), **բեթ** beth (beth), **գամել** Gamel (gimel although gaml is an ancient form), **դաղեթ** Dagleth (daleth), **Հէ** hæ (he), **վաւ** Vau (waw), **ջէ** ze

(zayin), **խեթ** hhet (h'eth), **տեթ** teth (t'eth), **Յովտ** iot (yodh), **քաբ** chap (Copied from manuscript; normal value, kaph), **ղամեդ** glamed (lamedh), **մեմ** mem (mem), **նուն** nun (nun), **ս[** printed as an Omega, which more closely resembles the manuscript's capital **Ս]ամքաթ** samchath (samekh), **եց** iez ('ayin; the name given here for this letter is very puzzling), **փէ** phæ (pe), **ծադէ** zzadæ (s'adhe), **կոփ** quoph (qoph), **րեշ** res (resh), **շ[** strangely misshapen form of the letter is used here differing from the one immediately before; it resembles the shape of the '**շ**' found on folio12, MS 178**]ին** sin (shin), **Թայ** thai (taw). These are named the **բառք եբրայեցւոց** 'barhch iebraiezuoz' and the names given do not square with a number of the present names of the alphabet (given in parentheses), yet names are subject to change over time and Ambrogio is quite sure of this list's antiquity.

Note the frequent lapses in transcription: t for th or p for b; are we seeing the interference of the ear upon the eye?

Recto 145:

Ambrogio displays his range of knowledge of the possible pronunciations of the Armenian 'k': **Ադամ** 'Adam,' **երկիր** 'ercir, **երկիր կոյս** 'ergir cois,' **երկիր մարմնացեալ** erkir mammrazzeal,' **երկիր կարմիր** erqir carmir,' and **կամ որ յ երկրէ ամենայնքո** 'cuam or i ercræ amenaincho.' He has incorrectly combined the last two words 'amenain cho' and incorrectly divided 'iercræ.' He finishes this bravura demonstration with a quotation from St. Paul, 1 Corinthians 15, 22: **որպէս ադամաւն ամենեքեան (ամենեքին) մեռանին նոյնպէս և իքս~ (քրիստոսիւ) ամենեքեան (ամենեքին) կենդանասցյն** 'Orpes adamaun amenechean (amenechin) meranin noinpæs eu i christos (christosiu) amenechean (amenechin) cendanasztin.' (This passage is no longer found in MS 347, which has a number of lost folios). We note the confusion of 'e' and 'æ' for the same letter and the misprint of -yn for -in in the last Armenian word. It is also evident that Ambrogio was not taking advantage of the Italian colloquial pronunciation of 'c' before 'e' as an affricate; it is possible to assume that his different

transcriptions for the one letter are attempts to realize the varying pronunciations of native speakers (belonging to various dialect communities). Differences from the standard Biblical text are contained in parentheses.

Verso 145:

A list of Hebrew names that is taken from MS 178 folios 5-10: **Աբել** Abel, **Աբիուդ** Abiud, **Աբիսաք** Abisach, **Ասափ** Asaph, **Ադովնայ** Adounai (MS 346 folio verso 116 has **Ադո՛նայի**), **Անանիա** Anania, **Ազարիա** Azaria, **Արիել** Ariel, **Ադո՛նիաս** Adonias, **Արամ** Aram, **Ամոս** Amos, **Ամի՛նադաբ** Aminadab, **Ագար** Agar, **Ագգագ** Aggag, **Աքազ** Achaz. The last is illustrated by a quotation from Isaiah 7, 10-12 (Ambrogio refers to Isaiah 71, but there are not that many chapters in Isaiah): **և յաւել տեար (տէր) խաւսել ընդ աքազու և ասէ (և ասէ) խնդրեայ (խնդրեա) դու քեզ նշան ի տնէ~ (տէ~) այ~ քումմէ ի խորութե~ (խորութեան) կամ ի բարձրութե~ (բարձրութեան). և ասէ Աքազ ոչ խնդրեցից և ոչ փորձեցից զտր~.** 'eu iauel thear (Tær) hhausel iend achazu eu asæ hhendreai (xndrea) du chez nsan i tearnæ astuchzzai (corrected in emendations Folio recto 215 to 'astuzzai,' yet the Biblical text reads, 'astucoy') chummæ i hhoruthene (xoruthean) cam i bartzruthene (barjruthean) eu asæ achaz oz hhndrezzizt eu oz phorxezzizt ztear.' The passage comes from MS 347 but the page has evidently been torn out as have so many: see the appendix listing all Biblical passages still extant in the Lectionary.

This passage is full of surprises. The word 'Tær' is given its Medieval form 'tear' and even the initial 't' is written 'th.' The initial 'o' is not written 'vuo' although that pronunciation has been noted. Note that there is lack of initial homorganic development of 'o' in the Agulis and Meghri dialects (Greppin, p. 117). The transliteration 'z' in 'oz' /votš^{h}/ is hardly satisfactory, but neither are the 'tz' and 'x' proper transliterations of /dz/; however that phoneme could have different allophonic realizations between resonants and when following one. Finally, notice the weak nature of the sibbilation in 'nsan' and the helping vowel in 'hhendreai.'

Recto 146:

The text from Isaiah 7, 14 continues: **Ահա կոյս (կոյսն) յղասցի և ծնցի որդի և կոչեսցեն զանուն նորա եմմանուէլ** 'Aha (not Ahha as before) cois iglaszzi eu tzarzti ordi eu cozeszten zanun nora emmanuæl.' We have only to note that another helping vowel has been added to 'tzarzti' and that it is now an 'a'; also, the distinction between /ts/ and /ts^{h}/ is not the point of articulation so that writing 'tz' and 'zt' does not adequately represent their components of affrication. Lastly, the spelling of 'emmanuæl' does not transliterate the Armenian.

We proceed to Luke 16, 24 and the tale of the rich man and Lazarus: **Հայր Աբրահամ ողորմեաց ինձ. և առաքեայ (առաքեա) զղազարոս զիթացցէ (զի թացցէ) զծէրն (զծագ) մատյն (մատին) իւրոյ ի ջուր և զովացուսցէ զլեզու իմ. զի ափափակիմ (պապակիմ) իտապոյ (ի տապոյ) աստի.** 'Hair Abraham oglormeazt intz, eu aracheai (arrak^{h}ea) zglazaros zi thaztzzæ ztzærn (ztsag) matin (misspelled -yn) ifroi (iwroy) ischur (i djur) eu zouaztuszzæ zlezu im (zi [in manuscript]) aphaphakim (papakim) itapoi (i tapoy) asti.'

There is much to detain us here. Two strange words enter the text from Ambrogio's source MS 347 (Folio verso 113): mispelled 'tzærn' 'hand' replaces /tsag/ 'tip' for obvious semantic reasons (hands and fingers go together naturally). but the replacing of 'papakim' by 'aphaphakim' seems simply the result of scribal play with a word no longer understood. The trigraph 'sch' is of uncertain value and seems to arise from Ambrogio's increasing frustration with the Armenian fricatives and affricates.

At the end of this page, Ambrogio begins an investigation into the Armenian negative: **անուն** 'anun' and **անանուն** 'ananun.'

Verso 146:

որոշելի/անորոշելի 'orosceli vel anorosceli'; **անջատականք/անանջատականք** 'anscatacanch vel ananscatacanch.' These are taken from his manuscript of Porphyry. Ambrogio wrongly opines that the 'n' can be lost and words can be negated with the 'a' alone: **աանջատականքն** 'aanscatacanch.' He may have run into this as a scribal error or in too Hellenized Philhellene texts (he had the early translations of Aristotle in MS 178). He also speculates on metatheses such as **Ատրիդես/Արտիդես** Atrides/Artides.

Note the use of 'sc' for the /š/ and for /dj/.

Recto 147:

From Porphyry, **ողջէ** 'olze' **անողջէ** 'anolze' and **ոչ նողչէ** (note the misspelling) 'oz nolze' This last has become infected with a mobile 'n' ultimately drived from the 'definite article.' The text should read 'ozn olze,' but Ambrogio speculates on the origin of the phenomenon and marshalls the odd spellings found in his texts (especially MS 346, which is a 14th century translation of a Roman missal and is replete with literal spellings and phonetic spellings based on the Western dialects, which cannot agree). **բաբելոն** 'babelon' and **Արգետս բաբելացոց** 'Argets babelaztozt' **բաներէգէս** 'banerægæs' against the Latin form Boanerges. **բարտողիմէոս** 'Barthoglimæos' (traditional) and **բարդօլօմէոս** Bardolomæos' (Latinate). The Latin names Albini, Potentianæ, and Silvestrus transliterated as **Ալպինի** 'Alpini,' **բօդենցիանէ** 'Bodenztianæ,' and **սելբեստրոս** 'Selbestros.' The Medieval sound shift that took place in Anatolian Armenian accounts for these late spellings, and the evidence of the pronunciation of Latin in the 14th century is interesting: -nti- is transliterated -nzti-. All of these are from MS 346.

Verso 147:

He notes other variations: The name Blasii appears in its Greek incarnation **վլասայ** 'Vlasai' and Februarium appears as **փետրուար** 'Phetruar,' where 'b' seems to have changed into a 't.'

Ambrogio turns then to the 'g' sound or letter: **գադ** 'gad,' **գոմոր** 'gomor,' **գորդիանոս** 'gordianos,' **գէորգէոս** 'gæorgæos,' **գլարեա** 'glarea,' **գունթինոս** 'guinthinos' (he misreads 'gun-' for 'guin'), **գրիգորիոս** 'grigorios,' **գողգոթա** 'goglgota' (should be -th-), **գաբրիել** 'gabriel,' and **գեննեսարեթ** 'gennesareth.' The last item turns his mind to Luke 5, 1 (MS 347 Folio verso 97, which has **ծովակին**), and the Lake of Gennesareth **ակին (ծովակին) գեննեսարեթայ.** 'Acim [sic] gennesarethai.' Ambrogio has misread the word division due to the frequent use of 'akn,' 'eye' with the meaning 'spring' or 'pool.' as well.

He ends the page with a reference to **գեդեոն** 'gedeon,' which he illustrates textually on the next page.

Recto 148:

More names hold his attention: **վն~ գեդեոնի (Գեդէոնի), բարակայ: սամփսոնի, յեփթայեա (Յեփթայեայ) դաւթի, և սամուելի, և այլոց մարգարէիցն.** 'Van (Vasn) gedeoni baracai samphsoni iephthaiea dauthi eu samueli eu ailozt margaræiztn.' (Hebrews 11, 32; Pavia MS 347 Folio recto 147) The misreading of the common abbreviation for 'vasn' is most likely a typographical error since he correctly reads it more often. This pasage brings a rumination on the interchangeability of 'g' and 'kʰ': **թաքուցաներ** 'Thachuztaner, **թագուցի** 'thaguzzi,' and **թագուցաւ** 'taguzzau.' (Psalm 118)

These are forms that show a tired scribe's mistakes (although **թագնում** 'thagnum' is literary), but the next pair have been canonized so that both are accepted literary forms from Psalms 150 and 151: **փափագեաց** 'phaphageazt and **փափաքեաց** phaphacheazt.' From Porphyry, **արծըռունկն** 'artzieruncn' compares with **արծըռունգն գոլ** 'artzierungn,' and (John 19, 13; MS 347 Folio

verso 28) Latin Gabbata with Armenian **կապպաթայ** (**Կապպաթա**) 'cappathai.' Ambrogio refers readers to his comments on mistakes made between **բ** and **պ** above.

Verso 148:

Ambrogio lists spellings from the names of Christ's disciples and from Biblical names from 3 Kings 9 (1 Kings 9 in the King James Version). The text is now lost from MS 347. The entire discussion on this page is occasioned by the toponym Galilee, for the names in Acts 1, 11 and John 21, 1-3 lead on to a connection with Nathaniel and Tobit 1, 1, which also mentions Galilee, and the cities of the Galilee listed in 1 Kings. **գալիլեա** 'galilea' **գալիլեացիք** 'galileaztich, **տիբերեայ** 'tibereai,' **և նաթանայէլ որ ի կանա գալիլէացոց** 'eu nathanaiel or i cana galilæaztozt,' **դան** 'dan,' **դի՛նա** 'dina,' **դովթաիմ** 'douthaim,' **դաթան** 'dathan,' **դագոն** 'dagon,' **դանիել** 'daniel,' **դովեկ** 'douech,' **դեբովրա** 'deboura,' and **դեոնեսիոս** 'deonesios.'

He continues his survey of the orthographic and phonetic peculiarities of the Armenian consonants of his texts. It should be noted that Ambrogio is fully aware of the inconsistencies created by scribal traditions and that these observations would be equally capable of being made if he were to use a temporally and spatially disparate group of Latin manuscripts. It is the philological hunt itself that is being celebrated here. Ambrogio, however, cannot but dimly grasp the profound phonetic changes that have occurred in the Middle Armenian (Cilician) pronunciation of Grabar texts: he has marshalled all the evidence, but lacks any explanatory framework except that of scribal inconsistency.

Recto 149:

The first name continues the text of John (MS 347, the Lectionary), but the names compared with it are from the Roman Catholic Missal (MS 346), which has a

tendency to use Western dialect phonology to transcribe Latin names. Ambrogio is oblivious of the causes for these discrepancies.

The Latin Zebedei is compared with the Armenian **զեբեթայ** 'Zebethai,' Clement is paired with **կլեմե՛նդոս** 'Clemendos,' Bartholomei with **բարդոլիմեոս** 'Bardolimeos,' Antonino has **Անդո՛նի՛նոս** 'Andoninos,' Antonio has **Անդո՛նիոս** Andonios.'

John 1, 44 brings us to the variants between Latin and Armenian principles of transliteration: Bethsaida yoked with **բեդսաիդա (Բեթսայիդայ)** 'Bedsaida' (traditionally spelled 'Bethsayida'), (MS 347 Folios recto 9 and recto 51) and Matthew 21, 1: **եկի՛ն ի բեդբագէ (Բեթփագէ).** 'ecin i bedbagae' with Latin Bethphage (MS 347 Folio recto 59).

He also notes in an aside that this nominal variation is theologically troubling if the psalms of David were intended to be interpretively sung for eternity. This raises the meaning of Hebrew 'selah' and its Greek equivalent 'Diapsalma' which he gives in Armenian transliteration **դիափսաղմա** 'Diaphsaglma' although it is not found in the Armenian texts of the Psalms; he interprets both as meaning 'eternally' **միշտ**, yet most modern translations offer 'rest' **Հա՛նգիստ** as the meaning of the Hebrew (Zohrabian: see Habakkuk 3, 3 & 14, where **Հա՛նգիստ** is the equivalent of the Septuagint's 'diapsalma').

Ironically, it is this desire to maintain the ancient pronunciation that is driving the orthographic discrepancies he is puzzling over. The Vulgate text and its pronunciation motivated the translator to change the spelling of the traditional text so that the sound of the Latin and the original pronunciation that the Grabar represented could be maintained. Ambrogio cannot know the chronology of this phonetic development and is, therefore, treating everything in the species of eternity or as the linguist would say synchronically.

Note that the use of the Septuagint's equivalent in the Armenian text of the Psalms argues that Ambrogio had an Armenian Psalter, which was not preserved among his Armenian Codices in Pavia; there are far too many quotations from the Psalms in the text of the '*Introductio...*' that cannot possibly come from the 'Breviary'

MS 346. Moreover, this Psalter retains traces of the Septuagint text that have no trace in the received text of the Zohrabian or the Oskanean printed Bibles; this Psalter has all of the traits of a Chalcedonian Armenian liturgical work.

Verso 149:

As we now understand the principles behind Ambrogio's transliteration, I will only comment on his quotations and his anomalous spellings.

ենովս Enős. **եսրովմ** Esrőm. **եզեկիել** Ezeciel. **եդոմ** Edom. **եփրեմ** Ephrem. **եղիսաբեթ** Eglisabeth. These are largely from MS 178's list of Biblical names.

Luke 1, 57 (MS 347 Folio recto 65): **և եղիսաբեթ լցան ժամանակք ծնանելոյ և ծնաւ որդի.** 'eu Eglisabethi lztan zamaracch tznaneloi eu tznau ordi.' Only the transliteration of */ž/* is worthy of comment besides the lack of 'epenthesis' to the initial 'e' and 'o,' which are always pronounced 'ye' and 'vo' initially in the modern literary language, and it represents another load on the letter 'z.'

Psalm 131 (132 in the King James): **Ահա լուաք զնմանե (զնամանէ) յեփրաթա (յեփրաթա).** 'Aha luach znmane (znamanæ) i ephratha (yEphratha).' The text has a few minor deviations from the received text.

Once again the lack of any notation of the variant pronunciation of initial vowels 'e and o' allows speculation that Ambrogio had informants from dialects without this feature or that his transcription is generally unphonetic.

Recto 150:

2 Kings 5, 6 (2 Samuel 5, 6 in the King James Version; from MS 347, folio verso 121): **Առ եբուսացիսն (յեբուսացին) բնակեալ յերկրին** 'Ar Ebusaztisn (Yebusac'in) bnaceal iercrin.' Note that the 'y-less' form of Jebusite is not the standard form in Armenian; the scribe must have assumed the 'y' to be the preposition 'i' and to have dropped it before the preposition 'arr.'

Luke 1, 67 (MS 347 Folio verso 66): **և զաքարիայ հայր նորա.** eu Zachariai (Zacharia) hair nora.'

Mark 3, 17 (MS 347 Folio recto 90): **և յակովբու զեբեդեա (Զեբեդեայ).** eu iacoubu zebedea (Zebedeay).' Here the Latin spelling, which was contrasted above with one with 'th', is given in the Armenian and this last is the common spelling (Bedrossian).

Luke: 19, 5-6: **զակքէ $ութա (փութա) եջ (էջ այտի) զի այսօր յ (ի) տան քում պարտէ (արժան է) ինչ (ինձ) ագանել և փութացեալ (փութացաւ) եջ (էջ) և ընկալաւ զնա ուրախութի (ուրախութեամբ) ի տուն իւր.** Zacchæ phutha ech (ædj ayti) zi aisôr i (i not y in the Armenian text) tan chum partæ (this word meaning from a cause or reason is replaced in the received text with the phrase, 'aržan æ') ins (the text's 'inč' is a mistaken reading for indz) aganel, eu (there is no 'eu' but rather a :) phuthazteal ech eu iencalau zna vrahhuthani i tun iur (the last word of the received text is 'uraxutheamb'; the abbreviation of the 'thiwn' ending is regularly misunderstood by Ambrogio and the words 'i tun iur' are not in the received text; these words are not found either in the Vulgate and seem to be added to the text from an Armenian textual tradition). We note again the strange voiceless and supposedly aspirated stop form 'ech.'

The forms must have come from the errors found in MS 347, but the passage from Luke must be among the pages torn from the codex over the years after Ambrogio's death. The misreading of 'inj' may be Ambrogio's or his typesetter's.

Verso 150-Recto 151:

Ambrogio begins to explore the meaning of 'z- and -n' in Armenian syntax.

John 8, 56 (From MS 347 missing folio between folio verso 75 and recto 76): **Աբրահամ հայր ձեր ցանկացաւ տեսանել զաւր իմ** Abraham hair tser ztancazzau tesanel zaur im.' He notes that 'zaur' has two morphemes, z- and aur (day). He also makes the incorrect observation that **աւր/որ** are equivalents rather

than **աւր/օր.** The ' ts' marks as voiceless a normally voiced consonant (Eastern Dialect) although its position in sandhi may account for its being heard without voice. '**զԱբրահամ տեսեր** zAbraham teser.' He also notes in John 8, 58: **զլինելն Աբրահամ (Աբրահամու) եմ ես** zlineln Abraham (Abrahamu) em es.' This shows the postposed article and the preposed preposition/definite accusative marker. These passages are all taken from MS 347, but Ambrogio has miscopied the last quotation as the text clearly shows 'Abrahamu.'

Psalm 118 (although Ambrogio constantly refers to this psalm as 119, it is actually listed as 118 in Armenian Bible and the Vulgate and 119 in the King James Version): 163: ' **զմեղս ատեցի և անարգեցի և զօրէնս քո սիրեցի:** zmegls atezti eu anargezti eu zôrens (zauræns) cho sirezti.' The use of long o suggests that this passage comes from MS 346 or from our lost Psalter, but not MS 347. Ambrogio himself gives a number of inflected forms of the word using 'ô' or 'aw' : **աւրէնս, աւրէնք.**

Psalm 118 : **և աւրէնք քո խաւսք իմ եին.** Eu aurench cho hhausch im ein.

Psalm 118 : **եթէ ոչ օրէնք քո.** Ethae oz ôrench cho. **մեղս.** megls.

Verso 151:

Ambrogio continues to explore the semantics of z-. He also again notes the spelling 'au' against long o. He notes that the z- can command the noun or its preceeding adjective: **զարժանին եպ~ութե~.** 'zarxanin episcoputhene.' Note the mistaken ending for -thean and the odd transliteration for voiced /ž/, which seems to imply voicelessness, which is rare in any Armenian dialect (Jahukyan; Greppin).

զնիկօլաոս ցուցեր զքո պաշտօնեայն (MS 346) 'zNicolaos ztuzzer zcho pastomeain' contrasts with **զերանելին նիկօլաոս քահա**(inverted)**նաապետն (քահանաապետական/քահանաապետն** MS 346) **քո** 'zeranelin Nicolaos chahanaapetn cho. (MS 346 folio verso 123-recto

124) The double 'a' in the last word is anomalous: the normal spelling is **քահունայապետ**. The 'z-' postposed adjective of the noun-phrase in the above two examples both come from non-Biblical sources and this is a charactristic of the Hellenizing School (Terian, 1980) although it is here seen as an influence from them on this 14th century translation. It is important to remember that all of Ambrogio's manuscripts other than the two extensive 14th century translations of Latin liturgical handbooks, MS 346 and MS 347, were from the Hellenizing School: Porphyry, Aristotle and Philo. Thus, the syntactic and lexical peculiarities of these texts had an uncommon influence on him. Texts, which would baffle the average Armenian were fairly clear to someone rooted in the scholastic traditions of Aristotelian interpretation. The same is true of the Latinizers of the early Medieval period (13th century Krhnay) and of the 17th century (Galanus and Holov); one finds them quoting extensively from Dionysios Thrax and other Hellenizing Grammarians and logicians.

Recto 152: See Ambrose insert:

Verso 152-Recto 154:

Ambrogio begins a discussion of the value of /æ/ and schwa. The discussion of schwa is the most fascinating as he correctly gives the phonetic environment of its initial use and, therefore has the clue to the pronunciation of z- before a consonant (before initial z, n, m, s, gl), yet he only gives this value recto 154.

Luke 24, 13 (MS 347 Missing folio 43): **Անուն նորա էմաուուս** 'anun nora æmauus (Emmauus). The spelling with 'æ' is not common and is not suggested by the Latin, Emmaus.

He notes **զքեզ** 'zchez' and **ըզքեզ** 'iezchez' saying that there is no change in the semantics.

He also gives examples of prepositions beginning with schwa:

Psalm 118 (Ambrogio identifies this as 119): 88: **ըստ ողորմութե~ քում կեցո զիս** 'iest oglormuthene (-thean) chum cezto zis.'

Porphyry (MS 178): **ըստ որում ասի. նախ տես[** inverted **]ակ արժանի գոռոզութե~.** 'iest orum asi nahh tesac arxani gorhozuthene (-thean).'

Psalm 146, 6: **ընդունի զՀեզս տր~.** 'ienduni zhezs tear (tær).'

Psalm 144 (145): **և կանգնէ զա[** inverted **]~ գլորեայո.** 'eu cangne (kangnæ) zamenezto (an inverted 'ayp' is the normal abreviation for 'zamenayn') gloieaio (this should be read 'gloreals' but the Armenian reading seems to be very corrupt and ends up as nonsense with a schwa, for 'r,' written between 'o' and 'e' and the final 'l' set as a 'y.') Even if the page was damaged in the manuscript (almost all pasages from the psalms come from MS 346, which is much worn) this reading does not do Ambrogio any credit.

Psalm 135 (136), : **ընդ մեջ (ի միջոյ) նորա.** iend mesch nora.

Psalm 135 (136), 15: **ընկղմեաց զփարաւն (զՓարաւովն) և զզօրս իւր ի ծով կարմիր.** iencglmeazt zpharauon eu zzors iur i tzou carmir.

Psalm 140 (141), 4: **ընդ մարդս որ գործեն զանաւրենութաի. (զանօրէնութիւն)** 'iend mards or gortzen zanaurenuthai (zanawrænuthiwn).'

The preposition is further explored as a verbal particle: **ըմբոշխնել.** iemboshhnel. which is a synonym for **ընդունել կամ մաշել.** iendunel cam mascel.

Psalm 118 (see above): **ընբոն** 'inbon (read 'iembon)' The word is not found in the psalm text of the Zohrabian Bible nor in 346 although the full psalm is lacking due to a missing folio. Ambrogio thinks that this word is synonymous with **նման.** However, this word must be a misreading or a miscopied form.

Forms found in Porphyry's Commentary (MS 178) continue the investigation of the preposition with pronouns in the instrumental: **ընդ սոաւ.** iend soau. **ընդ միմեամբք.** iend mimeambch. or **ընդ ինքեամբեն. (ինքեամբ են)** iend incheamben. The last case is clearly one of a fused verbal auxiliary.

John 1, 51 MS 347 Folio recto 9: **թէ ըսևս քան զայս տեսցես.** thæ ieseus chan zais tesztes.' has many problems, not the least of which is 'ieseus;' this

form is a miscopying by the scribe of MS 347 of **թէ տեսի ի ներքոյ թզենւոյն՝ հաւատան, մեծամեծ ևս քան զայս տեսցես:**

ըզսապ 'iezsap' exists in no dictionary that I know as a word for 'heat.' I again suspect that the initial schwa is epenthetic as the Latin gloss is 'calorem,' which is the accusative; however, this would give us a lexeme **սապ**, which is equally unknown. The Nor Barrgirk' does have the verb **զսպել**, which has the meaning 'compress, restrain, compel,' but this ignores all of the grammatical information which was discussed above. **ըղձիւ** 'ieglxiu' is quite legitimate, but the following **ըզպանծալոյն.** 'iezparzzaloin' is an error for z- plus parzzaloyn. Note **զըբարեկամս** ziebarekams, where the pronunciation of 'z-' shows a non-initial schwa.

Porphyry: **մեռեալըն մարդ, մարդ ասել.** 'merealien mard, mard asel.' illustrates the guide to pronunciation that schwa can give. In this case, Ambrogio shows complete understanding of the actual pronunciation of the postposed article.

Malachi 4: **զեղիա թեզբացի** 'zEglia thezbazzi.'

Verso 154:

John 10: 16: **յայսմ գաւթէ.** 'iaism gauthe (gauthæ); **մի հաւտ և մի հովիւ.** mi haut eu mi houiu. Ambrogio very mistakenly expatiates upon the puzzling nature of the changes in the spelling 'gauthe' to 'haut;' unhappily he is ignorant of the fact that these two represent quite different words: `sheepfold' and 'flock.'

Ambrogio has continued on to the letter 'Th.'

1 Timothy 6, 15: (from lost folio of MS 347) **թագաւորն թագաւորաց և տեարն տերանց.** Thagauorn (thagawor) thagauorazt eu tearn (tær) teranzt.

'Psalm 145:10 (146): **թագաւորեսցէ տր~ յա~ն.** Thagauoreszt (the transcription is missing the final 'e'; however, the received text is 'thagavoresc'æ') tear (Tær) iauitean.'

Թագաւորն խաղաղարար մեծագործեաց. 'Thagauorn hhaglaglarar mezzagorzzeazt.' (MS 346 folio verso 28 Gradual): Ambrogio has included it as a coda to the paragraph for more theological and hieratic than grammatical reasons.

We are now introduced to the letter **ժ** 'ž.'

Isaiah 9:2: **ժողովուրդ որ շրջէր (գնայր) ի (ընդ) խաւարի ետես զլոյս (լոյս) մեծ.** 'Zoglouurd or sarquer i hhauari etes zlois metz.' (the received text uses different words: žołovurd or gnayr ie(schwa)nd xawar etes loys mec; MS 347 does not have this text in its present much damaged state). Besides the variant reading of the text, the transcription of /dž/ as 'qu' is very anomalous; furthermore, the transcription of the same word includes a helping vowel 'a' which is not written in the Armenian letters. A number of explanations have been suggested to me concerning the odd transliteration 'sarquer'; one is that Ambrogius wrote 'scrgier' and that his handwriting was misread by his typesetter. This is not a very frequent occurrence in the book as a whole and therefore is doubtful. Since the Armenian would be a far more possible locus for mistakes and due to the odd reading of the text itself ('shrdzher' for 'gnayr') it is also possible that the text had originally 'sarkher' although the semantics are not particularly apt nor does this verb commonly appear in Grabar texts.**

Recto 155-Recto 156:

Psalm 110 (111):1-2: **ուղղոց ի ժողովս.** 'Yglglozt i goglous.' The received text is **ուղղոց ի ժողովուրդս.** 'ułłoc' i žołovurds.' The semantic distinction between 'žołov' and 'žołovurd' is quite small and the scribal shortening or legthening of the text is not unexpected. MS 346 folio recto 58.

Matthew 13:30: **ժողովեցէք նախ զորոմն.** 'Goglouezteech nahh zoromn.' The received text has been telescoped: 'khałec'ekh nax zoromnd ...ew

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** The first explanation is the kind suggestion of Prof. Alessandro Orengo of the University of Pisa and the second is an equally kind suggestion of Dr. Vazgen Hambardzoumian of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

zc'oreann žolovec'ekh ...' The two main verbs here again could be easily transposed by a scribe. By very consistently transcribing 'ou' as an Omega, even when before a vowel, Ambrogio has raised some question about his understanding of the sequence ouVowel (ovV) in contrast to ouConsonant (ôC).

Psalm 21:67 (22): '**ժողովքդոց** Zoglouchdozt' The Armenian is a misreading: 'kh' is read for an 'r': 'žołovrdoc'.' The pronunciation of /ž/ is quite stable in all dialects and the variations in transcription seen on these few pages illustrate the great difficulties that Ambrogio faced with this sound's transcription (so common in French and Slavic writing systems, but rare in Italian ones). If one looks at the transcription table of Bertoni's *Italia Dialettale*, Milan, 1916, it is very noticeable that 'z' appears in both the 'voiced' and 'voiceless' columns (as incidentally does 's'), and the seeming confusion within Ambrogio may be better located in the actual phonetic values 'z' has in Italian.

Matthew 26:18: **վարդապետ ասէ, ժամանաք իմ մերձեալ է.** 'Vardapet asæ, zamarach (žamanak) im merssealæ (merjeal æ).' The voiced /dz/ is clearly transcribed voiceless, but the preceeding /r/ may account for that (a common sound change in Armenian dialects). On the other hand, Ambrogio may be unable to distinguish these sounds by voicing because of the limited number of available Latin letters and, not hearing the affricate nature of their articulation, he is keying in on the articulatory time of their production, their length (something an Italian ear could easily detect) and, therefore, using consistent digraphs for them.

Psalm 118 (MS 346 folio recto 56) (see above): 164: **ինանիր (ի նանիր), այլ (և** not in 346**) ի բանից կոց (քոց).** 'inanir (a misreading for 'i nanir'), ail (ew) i baizt (should have read 'banizt') chozt ([khoc] is a correction of the incorrect Armenian text 'cozt').' This first misreading leads Ambrogio into the fascinating trap of 'root etymology' and comparison of languages by sonic/semantic coincidence. The Latin 'inaniter' and the Hebrew 'hhinnam' seem similar to the Armenian while the Chaldaeic, Syriac and Arabic equivalents are quite other.

Ambrogio is interested in exploring the preposition 'i' which has so many different Latin reflexes. He discusses the 'i' in the instrumental '-iw' and in the

genitive '-i/-in' as if these were created by the insertion of an 'i' with its multitudinous prepositonal meanings; hence, he is trying to discover the quintessential meaning of the letter 'i.' He continues with the letter 'o' and its instrumental '-ov/-ovn' (again transcribed as Omega or 'ou' and taken from the instrumental of the word 'ordi.' Ambrogio cannot mistake the meaning of the text because it is the universally familiar Bible, but his speculations on the inner workings of Armenian grammar and morphological etymology have little to stand upon except sound correspondences and tortured logic. Nonetheless, he describes the textual facts accurately.

John 1, 14: **և բնակեցաւ (բնակեաց) ի մեզ.** 'eu braceztau (brakeac') i mez.' Ambrogio's verb form is the classical middle-passive, while the received text has the active form). The middle-passive form becomes one of the standard conjugations, the '-im,' in Medieval and modern Armenian. It is interesting that in the modern Eastern literary language, this particular verb has a passive form, 'brakvel, with an active-intransitive (middle) meaning, 'to reside or to dwell.'

Hebrews 1, 1: **խօսեցաւ ած~ հարցն (ընդ հարցն մեր) մարգարեիւք (մարգարէիւք). ի վերջին աւուրս (ի վախճան աւուրցս) յայսոսիկ (այսոցիկ) խաւսեցաւ ընդ մեզ որդովն (որդւովն).** 'hhoseztau astuzt (The oblique stem is Ambrogio's general transcription for the Classical, 'Astuac') harztn (iend harsn mer) margareiuch (margaræiwkh), i verscin auurs (i vaxčan awurc's) iaisosic (aysoc'ik) hhauseztau iend mez ordoun (ordwovn).' Here, 'zt' is used for /ts/ rather than the more common /tsʰ/. The form 'harztn' is the dative of 'hayr.' Ambrogio's 'i verscin auurs (dat./loc. pl.)' is a synonymous rewording of the received text; the transcription of the normally voiced letter /dj/ is again possibly an effect of the preceeding 'r.' (Greppin, 1986) The preposition before the demonstrative creates confusion because the case of the demonstrative clearly coincides with the case of 'awurc's, not with Ambrogio's reading; thus, Ambrogio's text is corrupt. Finally, the case form of 'ordoun' is the Medieval/Modern, not the Classical.

Titus 3: **ոչ ի գործոց արդարութե~ զոր արարաք մեք.** 'os (oč') i gordhozt (gorcoc') ardaruthene (ardaruthean) zor ararach mech.' The transcription 'dh' for 'c' is obviously a typographical error.

Psalm 109 (110): **քեզ տր~ ի սիոնէ.** 'chez tear (Tær) i sione (Sionæ).

Psalm 111 (112): **ի համբաւէ չարէ նա մի երկիցէ (երկիցէ).** ' i hambauæ zaræ na mi ercizte (erkic'æ).'

Psalm 129 (130): **ի խորոց կարդացի առ քեզ տեար.** ' i hhorozt cardazti arh chez tear (Tær).'; **ի պահէ առաւաւտու.** 'i pahæ arauautu.'

Verso 156:

Psalm 129: **իլե~լ ի տեար:** 'Israel (Israyæl) i tear (Tær).' The abbreviation for Israel takes a most peculiar form.

He notes that '-i' represents the oblique case and when added to the infinitive creates the gerundive.

Aristotle Periermenias: **քանզի ոչ է. զոչն ամենայն մարդ ասելի.** 'Chanzi oz æ, zosn amenain mard aseli.' As will be noted, the Aristotle from MS 178 (a far older manuscript) has far fewer abbreviated forms than does the Biblical material; unfortunately, Ambrogio rarely checked these discrepancies against one another, and if he had, he would have a far more consistent view of the Armenian declension system.

գ՚նելի է: 'Ponendum vel constituendum est.' Although the form 'gnel' (to pay) is perfectly normal, Ambrogio's gloss makes it clear that he has mistaken an original 'dnel' (to put, to constitute). The two Armenian letters 'g' and 'd' are easily confused.

He is moving on to the letter **լ** 'l.'

He lists the following declined forms for the word light: **լոյս** lois, **լոյսն** loisn, **լուսաւորէ** lusauoræ, and **լուսոին** lusoin.

Recto 157:

լինել Linel and լի li are to be found in John Chapter 1 and in Luke Chapter 12.

Psalm 21: լսելի լիցի ի լոյս. 'Lseli lizzi i lois.' և լեզու իմ. 'eu lezu im'

2 Kings 1: լերինք գելբովայ. 'Lerinch gelbΩai'

Mark 2: Ասել 'Asel'

Matth 5: ոչ եկի լուծանել այլ լնուլ. 'oz eci lutzanel ail lnul.'

Psalm 140: Պատճառել զպատճառս մեղաց. 'Patgarhel zpatgarhs meglazt.'

Mark 13: բառնալ 'barhnal; առնուլ 'arhnul.'

This is all couched within a discussion of the Armenian infinitive, its marking vowels and the development of a gerundive from the same form.

Verso 157:

We are moving on into the realm of the lettter խ 'x' and Ambrogio's examples are becoming wilder. He lists a group of words having animal and zodiacal significance and others with onomatopoetic values.

խրիսոգոնոս 'Hhrisogonos,' which he identifies with Latin Grisogonus. I cannot find this word in any dictionary. խոյ 'Hhoi,' ram; խեցգետին 'Hheztgetin,' crab; խայթոց 'Hhaithozt,' spur, spike; խոնարհս 'Hhonarhs,' (in the acc. pl) humble; խաղաղութի Hhaglagluthai,' peace.

Isaiah 55, 6: խնդրեցէք տր՟ մինչ գտանիլ կարէ կոչեցէք զնա մինչ մերձն է. 'Hhendrezzech tear mins gtanil caræ coseztech zna mins merssan æ.' The Zohrabian reads: խնդրեցէք զՏէր և [from apparatus: մինչդեռ գտանի] ուորժամ գտանիցէք զնա, կարդացէք առ նա և [from apparatus: ցորչափ մերձ է] իբրև մերձեսցի առ ձեզ: Note the use of the 'e' and the 'a' as schwas in 'hhendrezzech' and 'merssan' respectively.

Matthew 6, 33: խնդրցէք նախ զարքաիութաի այ՟ և զարդարութին նորա. 'Hhendrezzæch nahh zarchaiuthai (զարքաիութիւն) astuztai (Աստուծոյ) eu zardaruthain (զարդարութիւն) nora.' Obviously, the 'thiwn' declension has been mistreated by Ambrogio.

Recto 158:

Ambrogio quotes a number of words from Porphyry; most of them show extensive use of schwa in the spelling: **խըխ̀նջական̀ն** 'Hhiehhnscacann,' a horse's whinny; **խըխը̀նջական̀ ծի** 'Hhiehhienscacan tsi.' (One could easily believe that these transliterations of Ambrogio's might have affected Swift in the writing of 'Guliver's Travels' if one could prove that he had access to the *Introductio...*); **խաժակ̀նութի~** 'Hhaxacnuthai,' which Ambrogio incorrectly glosses as 'having a curved nose' when it actually means 'having blue eyes.'

Any overall analysis of the various vowels used to represent 'schwa' on these pages alone (e, a, ie, and 0) would raise doubts about Ambrogio's understanding of the phonology: it is simply possible that he uses mid, low and front vowels because he cannot quite hear the Armenian sound and because the actual value is much mediated by the surrounding consonants ('a' with a nasal and 'e' or 'ie' with a palatal); however, 'ie' remains his usual reflex for a written schwa **ը.**

John 19, 15: **և հան̀ զդա ի խաչ.** 'eu han zda i hhaz.'

The following are all extra-biblical, liturgical references to the 'cross.'

ի խաչ հան̀իցեմ. 'I hhaz haniztem.'

Saint Andrew's supposed remark on seeing his instrument of martyrdom:

ողջլեր խաչ պատուական̀. 'Oglzler hhaz patuacan.' (MS 346 123v)

կախեցաւ ի.քեզ .քս~ վարդապետ̀ն իմ. 'Cahheztau I chez christos vardapetn im.'

A devotional prayer concerning the cross: **ով երան̀եալ խաչ իվաղ̀նջուց (ի վաղ̀նջուց) ցան̀կացեալ և այժմ տրփացելոյ հոգոյ̀ն նախապատրաստեալ,** 'Ω erneal hhaz iuaglnzuzt ztancazteal eu aigm tarphazteloi hogoin nahhapatrasteal.' (MS 346 123v)

Verso 158:

Ambrogio makes an aside on the aspirated consonants 'Geth and Ohh' in Vuandalic (Gothic?); the letters are vaguely similar to Gothic, but since they are written in by hand, there shape changes from example to example). He then proceeds to the letter ծ 'c.'

Matthew 27, 30: ծեծէին 'Tzetzaein.'

Luke 23, 49: ծանօթքն նորա. 'TzanΩthchn nora.'

John 19, 28: ասէ ծարաւիեմ (ծարաւի եմ). 'asae tzarauiem.'

Psalm 139 (140), 12: ծանեա (ծանեայ) ցի (զի) առնես տր` (Տէր). 'Tzanea zi (misspelled in Armenian) arhnes tear.'

Psalm 138 (139), 1: ծանեար 'Tzanear.'

I have found no source for this quotation: ծանեար/ծանեաւ ապա հայր. 'Tzanear (emended to 'Tzaneau.') apa hayr.' Note that in the last three Ambrogio has collected the singular aorist conjugation of this verb.

John 4, 51: (from emendations) կենդանիէ (կենդանի է) 'Cendaniae.' (should be two words.)

Matthew 18, 32; Luke 19, 22: ծառա (ծառայ) չար (անհաւատ The Luke passage has 'faithless' in the text, but 'evil' in the apparatus.) 'Tzarha zar.'

Matthew 18, 33: ողորմել ծառակցին (ծառայակցին) քում. 'Oglormel tzarhaczzin chum.' The form of the word 'fellow-servant' is not classical.

Recto 159:

From Porphyry: ծիծաղի, ծիծա(inverted)ղելովն, ծիծաղական Tzitzagli, TzizaglelΩn (emended TzitzaglelΩn), Tzitzaglacan.'

Apocalypse 7, 3 (Folio lost from MS 347): և ծովու և ոչ ծառոց. (մի՛ ծովու, մի՛ ծառոց) 'eu tzΩu eu oz tzarhozt.'; 'ծառայս (զծառայս) այ~ (Աստուծոյ) Tzarhais astutzai.'

Psalm 21(22, 18): ծակեցին զձեռս իմ զոստ (զոտս). 'Tzacezzin ziserhs im eu zost (an error for 'zots')'

Psalm 111 (112, 4), : ծագեաց 'Tzageazt.'

Note that in this case the difference of a 'k' or a 'g' has considerable effect on the meaning. These are not cases of classsical and phonetic spelling.

Names from MS 178's list from Philo (Folio recto 8): **կայի՛ն, կայ՛նան, կայիփա, կարմեղոս, կարդես, կուրբա՛ն (կորբա՛ն).** 'Caiin, Cainan, Caiiapha, Carmeglos, Cades, Curban (I clearly read 'corban' in the MS).'

Matthew 27, 6 & 33 (MS 347 folio 4 recto): **ի կուրբա՛ն (ի կորբա՛նն).** 'I curban.' (This phrase is glossed with the Latin 'in corbonam,' which itself is glossed in dictionaries as a transliteration of a Hebrew phrase in Eccl. meaning 'treasure of the Temple': see 'Vocabolario della Lingua Latina,' 1966). **կառափելոյ.** 'Carhapheloi,' (the place of the Skull)

John 1, 42: **Կե$աս.** 'Cephas,' (note that 'ph' has two values for Ambrogio) **գու (Դու) ես սիմո՛ն (Սիմովն) որդի Յո՛նանու (Յովնանու) դու կոչեսցիս կե$աս (Կեփաս) որ Թագմա՛նի (**emended **Թարգմա՛նի) Պետրոս.** 'Du (corrected in the transcription from 'g') es Simon ordi IΩnanu du cozesztis Cephas or thargmani (correct transcription of the emended Armenian) Petros.'

Paul I Corinthians 15, 5: **և թէ երևեցաւ կե$այի. (Կեփայի)** 'eu thae ereuezzau cephaii.'

Verso 159:

John 19, 15: **Թագաւոր բայցի (բաց) կայսերէ (ի Կայսերէ).** 'Thagauor baizti Caiserae.' This form, **բայցի,** is an older form of the commoner **բաց ի** (ironically, an English speaker, whose language uses 'but,' 'bayc','.both as a preposition meaning 'except' and as a conjunction, might feel the confusion natural and Acharyan suggests that there may be a common basis in Armenian for both forms; he sights the older form as found in Agathangelos).

Luke 2, 1: **յԱւգուստոս կայսերէ.**'I (preposed to noun in the Armenian) Augustos Caiserae.'

Ասորոց կիւրենեայ . 'Asorozt ciureneai.'

Matthew 22, 21; Mark 12, 17; Luke 20, 25: **տուք ապա զորս ենն կայսերն կայսեր և զորս են այն(~) այ(~).** 'Tuch apa zors enn Caisern Caiser eu zors en astuztain astuztai.'

Porphyry: **կալլիաս.**'callias, **կիկրոպեանքն ի կիկրոպեա.** Cicropeanchn I cicropea.' The Latin gloss 'Cecropidae a Cecrope' explains all: Cecrops was the first king of Attica and his dynasty was named after him; the phrase can be used to refer to any Athenian.

John 6, 17: **ծովուն ի կափառնաւում.** 'TzΩun I capharhnauum.'

Luke 7, 1: **եմուտ ի կափառնաում.** 'Emut I Capharnaum.'

Luke 24, 18: **կղէոպաս.** 'Cgleopas.'

Recto 160:

Matthew 10, 4: **սիմոն կանանացի.** 'Simon cananazzi.'

Matthew 16, 13: **ի կողմանս փիլիպպեա կեսարեայն.** I coglmans Philippea Cesareain.'

կութին cuthin, Lac significat.

1 Peter 2, 2: **կութինն փափագիցէք.** cuthinn phaphagizzech. Ambrogio has made a singular error in mistaking the 'u' for a clearly written 'ayp'; the word for 'milk' is correctly written in the source for this passage **կաթին** MS 347 folio 153r.

1 Corinthians 11, 24; Matthew 26, 26: **և կտրեց.** eu catrezt (note the use of 'a' for schwa), **Առէք կերէք այսէ մարմին իմ.** Ahræch ceræch aisæ marmin im.

From the prayers said on St Cecilia's Day: **կիկիլիեա կուսին և վկային.** Cicilea cusin eu vcain; **իյերգելն նուագարանացն կիկիլիեա երգեր տ՟ն ասելով. եղիցի սիրտ իմ անբիծ զի մի յանօթեղեց.**

iiergeln nuagaranaztn Cicilea erger tearn aselΩ. eglizzi sirt im anbidh zi mi ianΩtheglezt. Note that 'dh' is an uncommon transcription for /c/ (it is final). These must be from MS 346.

Verso 160:

Further references to the prayers of the feast day: **կիկիլիա աղախին քո~տր որպ մեղուքեզ յանդիմանօրէն ծառաեաց.**

Cicilia aglahhin cho tear orpisi meglu chez iandimanΩren tzarhaeazt.

կլեմենդոս. Clemendos. A reference to St. Clement, a Pope. (MS 346 184r)

St. Catherine: **կատարինա կուսին և վկաին.** Catarina cusin eu vcain; **կուսին պանծալոյ կատերինեա վկաին սրբոյ. զտօնս առի կատարել տուր մեզ արկայդ քս~. գթացեալ.** Cusin pandhaloi Caterinea vchain surboi. ZtΩns arhi Catarel tur mez archaid Christos gthazteal. Note the internal transcription 'dh' and initial, 'tz.' Also note the variation in the spelling of Catherine, influenced no doubt by the Latin. (MS 346 184v)

Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 24, 17-18 Vulgate numbering from lost Folio of MS 347: **զկիպրի.** Zcipri; **ի կադես.** i cades.

John 21, 2: **որ ի կանա գալիլեացոց.** or i cana galileaztozt. MS 347 Folio 46r.

Recto 161:

The name **կարողոս.** Caroglos brings Ambrogio to thoughts about the Emperor Charles V and the wars with the Ottomans. It also brings him to make etymological speculations about the relation between that name of German origin, meaning basically 'slave, serf' and the Armenian word **կարողութաի.** Carogluthai 'capability, force, might.'

Paul: Ephesians 6, 11: **և կարողութաի (կարողութեամբ) զաւրութենէ (զաւրութեան) նորա, եւ զգեցարուք զսպառազինութաի (զսպառազինութիւն) ~աի (Աստուծոյ): զի կարող լինիջիք կալ ընդդեմ (ընդդէմ) հնարից ոատանայի (սատանայի).** eu Carogluthai zauruthene nora, eu zgeztaruch zsparhazinuthai astuztai: zi Charogl linizich cal iend demhnarizt satanaii. Satan is an emendation in the Armenian text and in the transcription, Ambrogio has incorrectly divided the words of

'ienddem hnarizt.' This is another of the few examples of an incorrect division of words. Note that Ambrogio has transcribed 'k' with both 'c' and 'ch'; also note that the usually careful distinguishing of /c/ with the transcription 'tz' and /c^h/ with 'zt' starts to break down and we find the use of 'zt' for both of these forms.

Ambrogio enjoyed Macaronic punning, especially if he could turn the Biblical text into a modern and relevant admonition for the good of Christianity. Thus, the Pauline text can be modified to express the following Latin prayer for the Emperor Charles: Ista beati Pauli verba a nobis hoc in loco adducta sunt, ut Carolus invictissimus Imperator noster in cordis sui penetralibus inserta, **Առէսցէ զսպառալինութաին (զսպառազինութիւնն) աստուծայ (Աստուծոյ) զի կարող լինիցի.** Arhæsztæ zsparhalinuthain astuztai. Zi Carol linizti. Accipi at armatutam Dei, ut potens sit: And the Emperor's victory will bring the following Divine restitution: resistere improbitati perfidorum adversariorum, & barbaris hostibus, & fidei Christianae inimicissimo Othomano, quod facillime (meo quidem iuditio) efficiet. Si **զկեցեալ (զգեցեալ) զռահն (զրահն) արդարութենե (արդարութեան), և հագուցեալ զոտս պատրաստութաբ (պատրաստութամբ) աւետարանին խաղաղութենե (խաղաղութեան).** Zcezteal zrhahn ardaruthene, eu haguzteal zots parastuthab (corrected in emendations to 'patrastuthab') auetaranin hhaglagluthene. Indutus loricam iustitiae, & calciatus pedes in praeparatione Euangelii pacis: Vere inquam illius pacis qua cum depositis odiis, & vindicandi cupiditate refrigerata, Christianissimos Reges amplexetur, nec caeteros Christiani nominis caractere insignitos, adfui benevolentia trahat, nec patiat ab exercitu, caeterisque iuri redundo perfectis tyrannice, ac spretis sacratissimis legibus vexari, rapinas bonorum, virginum raptus, incestusque & subiectorum cedes, atque tormenta publicis arcenda Imperialibus edictis prohibuerit, pietatem & mansuetudinem, potius quam faevitiam exercendam curaverit.

Note the lack of the 'nasal' in the intrumental form '-thamb' and the strange forms for the nominative, accusative and genitive of the same declension. We must mention again the possible evidence here for a nasalizing dialect, but the greater likelihood is that the constant abbreviating of this particular declension simply concealed its actual forms from

Ambrogio, who understood them, but could not unfold them correctly. The twice used form 'astuztai' as the genitive of 'astuac' is evidence for the latter conjecture.

The cases are clearly given very abnormal forms in this passage, but they seem to be exactly those that Ambrogio felt were normal to Armenian. Furthermore, Ambrogio misspells two clearly properly used words from the preceeding text of Paul in his own transformation. This is hardly an easily excusable procedure.

Nonetheless, this is Ambrogio's first very hesitant Armenian composition and its theme is very illuminating; he like so many Christian non-Armenians, who were meeting this people for the first time, wished that they might be defended from the Muslims' unjust usage by their Christian brethern. This was the theme of his first description of the Armenians on folio recto 142 and it remains the same here.

Verso 161:

This page contains a list of Biblical and Classical Greek names with their etymologies taken from MS 178 from Philo and Porphyry. He is beginning to explore the letter 'h.'

հեղի. հուբէլ. որ թարգմանի մեծ աստուծ, Hegli. Hubel, or thargmani metz astutz, **հոմերոս. հերակլեանք. ի հերակլեա. հոմասեռ.** Homeros, Heracleanch, I Heraclea. Homaserh. **հիլոն. հետեւակն. հետեւակէ մարդ. հետեւակին** Hilon. Heteuacn. Heteuacæ (the copula is not separated) mard. Heteuacin. **զ բան է** Zban æ.

He notes the 'i' of the genitive comes between the '-c- and the -n' and that the nominative case is without the intrusive vowel. He continues to explore cases on the following pages.

Recto 162:

Acts 12, 1: **հերովդես.** HerΩdes; **հերովդէի.** HerΩdæi. Here we have declension members.

Matthew 2, 1: յաւուրս հերովդէի արքայի. iauurs HerΩdæi archaii.

Mark 6, 16: վասն զ հերոդիա. Vasn z Herodia.

This leads on to further explorations of proper nouns found within his texts, especially MS 346, which is a calendar of the Saints: հեղենա մայրն կոստանդինոսի. Helena mairn Constandinosi.

He also notes the placement of an 'h' before Greek names with initial 'r', which seems motivated by the 'hard breathing mark' usually placed over initial Greek Rho;interestingly enough, he ignores this 'H' in his transcriptions of the words with it: հռափաել. հռագուել. հռութ. հռեբեկա. Raphael. Raguel. Ruth. Rebeca.

Matthew 2, 17-18 (from Jeremiah 31, 15): հռամա. Rama. հռաքել. Rachel.

Verso 162:

Thus, the Greek for 'rose' would appear as հռոդոն. Rhodon although the actual word in Armenian is վարդ. Vard.

As found in Sirach or Ecclesiasticus 24: զտուկն վարդենոյ ի երիքով. ztucn vardenoi i erichΩ.

Isaiah 62, 2: հեթանոսք. Hethanosch.(The new translation into Armenian uses 'azger')

We now move on to the pronunciation of 'j':

ձայն. Xain, Vox

Psalm 28 (29), 3: ձայն տեառն. Xain tearn. Note that Ambrogio's rendering of the letter suggests that he heard no voicing.

Isaiah 66, 6: ձաին բառբառոյ ի քաղաքէ. ձայն ի տաճարէ. ձայն տեառն հատուցտանէ զհատուցումն հակառակորդաց.

Xain barhbarhoi i chaglachæ. Xain i tagaræ. Xain tearn hatuztanæ zhatuztumn hacarhcordazt.

Isaiah 40, 3: ձայն բառբարոյ յանապատի. Xain barhbarhoi ianaparti.

Psalm 119 verses 48, 73, 109, and 173: ձեռն. Xern, Manus.

Ezekiel 47, 10: ձուկն. Xucn; տձուկն բազում յոյժ. Txucn bazum ioiz. The text in MS 347 verso 133 agrees with the Zohrabian: բազմութ~ք բազում յոյժ. The form տձուկն comes from none of Ambrogio's manuscripts and makes no paticular sense, especially as the strange տ- is not commented upon.

John 21, 3: երթամ ձուկնորսալ. Ertham Xucnorsal.

Recto 163:

Luke 5, 2: MS 347 Folio missing: ձկնորսքն. Xacnorschn. Note the use of 'a' to represent a schwa.

Ambrogio now mentions a series of rare verbs that are synonyms of more common verbs: ձանձել. Tsanxel. means the same as առնսուլ [sic] (առնուլ). arhnul. which is similar to լամբել. Lambel. which in turn has a similar meaning to ձաձի. Tsaxi. which means առնու. arhnu. Note that the initial sound can be transcribed with a 'Ts,' and that this again marks a 'voiced' sound as voiceless for Ambrogio. He also mentions ձիր. Tsir. which has a similar meaning to պարգեւ կամ շնորհ. pargeu cam scnorh. It is usually rare for him to use 'sc' as the transcription for /š/.

Note that the listing of these synonyms is evidence that Ambrogio had been keeping some sort of glossary as he worked through the Armenian materials in his manuscripts. The existence of some leaves of a Hebrew glossary in his hand suggests that this could have been his practice in all of his Oriental languages.

He mentions the similarity of the Armenian letter to the fourth Vuandalic letter 'Tzeds,' but no one quite knows what this alphabet is. He mentions other letters of this alphabet as well (see listing of pages found in his table of contents).

He continues on to 'gl' and these names are from the Philonic list found in MS 178 as well as common names from MS 347:

ղամեք. ղովտ. ղաբան. ղեւի. ղոբենա. Glamech, GlΩt, Glaban, Gleui, Globena.

ղոբնի. ղաքիս. ղորէոս. ղուկաս. ղազարոս. Globni, Glachis, Gloræos, Glucas, Glazaros.

John 11, 1: Լազարոս Հիվանդէր. Glazaros hiuandær, Pavia MS 347 folio 38.

Matthew 10, 3: ղեբէոս. Glebæos, Pavia MS 347 folio 67.

Verso 163:

It is interesting that Ambrogio transcribes his Greek references on this page in a way quite close to that of the Armenian. His transcription of Lambda is 'gl' as that also transcribes ղ. See his transcription of κατάληξις cataglicsis and ἀνάλυσις anaglysis. This raises the question of just what sound Ambrogio heard represented by this transcription. I have already suggested that it is a velar (the 'g') lateral (the 'l').

Ambrogio now makes extended reference to his list of Armenian-Greek pharmalogical plants and herbs found in Pavia MS 178.

ղաթպաթոն. glathpathon, pro lapatio herba. which is աւելուկ. aueluc, a frequently eaten herb.

ղիբանոտիս. glibanotis, quæ a nostris libanotis, and is կնդրուկ. candruc in Armenian (frankincense). Note the use of 'a' for schwa again

ղոտոս. glotos, our lotus from Greek, while the Armenian is ներգիւն. nergiyn. This last uses 'y' upsilon or 'y' Grec to represent the letter usually transcribed 'u,' but this possibility is already listed in the alphabet table and is recognized as the etymological origin of the Armenian letter.

Recto 164:

Matthew 6, 22 MS 347 Folio verso 27; verso 90: ճրագ մարմնոյ ակն է. Irag marmnoi acnae.

Psalm 131(132), 17: զճրագ օծելոյ իմո. zirag Ωtzeloi imo.

ճերվազիոս. Geruazios. ճերմանոս. Germanos. ճերոնիմոս. Hieronimos.

Մամբրէ. Mambre. **Մեմփիս.** Memphis. **Միքաիել.** Michaiel. **Մովսես.** MΩses. **Մովաբ.** MΩab. **Մագովգ.** MagΩg. **Մալաքիա.** Malachia. **Մանասէ.** Manasae. **Մարիամ.** Mariam.**Մարթա.** Martha. **Մակդաղինէ.** Macdaglinae. **Մաթեոս.** Matheos. **Մարկոս.** Marcos. **Մելքիսեդեկ.** Melchisedec

Hebrews 7, 1 & 2: MS 347 Folio missing: **Թագաւուր (Թագաւոր) արդարութենէ (արդարութեան) կամ խաղաղութաի (խաղաղութիւն).** Thagauur (Thagawor) ardaruthene (ardaruthean) cam hhaglagluthai (xaghaghuthean). Ambrogio has added the 'kam' in summarizing Paul's commentary on the priesthood of Melchizedek.

Psalm 109 (110), 4: **ըստ կարգին Մելքիսեդեկի.** Iest cargin melchisedeci.

Matthew 6, 24: MS 347 Folio verso 90 (och kare'k' a~y car'ayel ew Mamonai): **Մամոն.** Mamon; **ոչ կարէքաստուծայ ծառայել և Մամոնի (Մամոնայի).** Oz carech astutzai tzarhaiel eu mamoni (Mamonayi).

Verso 164:

The letter 'I' has two forms a majuscule and a minuscule in this case (one of the three Armenian letters in his font with these forms).

Յարեդ. Iard. **Յափեթ.** Iapheth. **Յեքտան.** Iechtan. **Յուդայ.** Iudai. **Յովսեփ.** IΩseph. **յակովբոս.** IacΩbos. **յետտամ.** Iettam. **յեզրաել.** Iezrael. **յւվսափատ.** Iosaphat.

Յաւիտենական. Iauitenacan. **յաւիտենական.** Iauitenacan.

Hosea 11, 1: MS 347 Folio missing: **Յեգիպտոսէ կոչեցից զորդի իմ.** Iegiptosae cozeztizt zordi im.

Luke 15, 14: MS 347 Folio verso 107 (**յաշխարՀին յանմիկ.**yashxarhin yanmik): **յաշխարկին յամմիկ.** I aschharcin iammic. (Zohrabian: **յաշխարՀին յայնմիկ.**yashxarhin yaynmik). There is a great deal of misunderstanding in Ambrogio's reading of the text. Note the possible assimilation of nasals here; it seems to happen frequently and could be an influence of Ambrogio's native phonology (Ramat).

Նաքովր. NachΩr. Նեփթալիմ. Nephthalim. Նեբրովթ. NebrΩth. Ննուէ. Nnuae, Նաթանաէլ. Nathanael

John 1, 45 & 46: MS 347 Folio recto 9; verso 51 (zordi yo'sephay I nazarethe' ase'/asac' c'na..) զՆաթանայէլ. Znathanaiel...զորդի յօսէփայ ի Նազարէթէ, ասէ (ասաց) զՆա (ցՆա) Նաթանայէլ, իսկ ի Նազարէթէ. Zordi IΩsephai I nazarethae, asae zna (c'na) nathanaiel, isc I nazarethae.

Recto 165:

Matthew 21, 10 & 11 MS 347 Folio verso 59 (nazarethe'):ով իցէ սա. Ω iztae sa. որ ի Նազարէթէ (Նազարէթէ) գալիլացիոց. or I nazaraethae (nazarethe') galilaztiozt. It is noteworthy that all of the attestations preserve an 'l' in Galillee rather than 'gh.'

Luke 7, 11: MS 347 Folio verso 20 (Nayin): Նային. Naiin. որում անուն էր Նային. orum anun aer naiin (Nayin).

John 10, 22: MS 347 Folio 120 (Eghen yaynzham no'akatik'n): եղեն յայնժամ Նօակատիքն (Նաւակատիքն). Eglen iainzam nΩacatichn (Nawakatik'n).

Verso 165:

Here Ambrogio interprets the '-n' affix as if a declensional ending although he identifies it as a 'affixum pronomen.' It should be noted that this affix does and did then have some aspects of a nominal inflection in the colloquial langauage of the Eastern dialects (it distinguishes the accusative from the dative form, which are both descended from the Classical dative).

աշակերտք. asacertch.

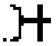
Matthew 5, 1: MS 347 Folio 32: աշակերտքն Նորա. asacertchn nora.

Mark 13, 8 & 12: MS 347 Folio recto 144: զի յարիցէ ազգ. Zi iariztae azg...զի յարիցէն. zi iarizten.

Second Periermenias (Aristotle's On Interpretation): MS 179 Folio verso 128: **անուն.** Anun. **բայց անսւնն (անունն).** Baizt anunn. **իսկ որ ոչ կար, ոչ եղանել. անկար, ոչ եղանել, իսկ որ անկարն, ոչ եղանել, ճարկաւոր եղանել.** Isc or oz car, oz eglanel, anear oz eglanel. Isc or ancarn, oz eglanel, harcauor eglanel.

Recto 166:

Second Periermenias (Aristotle's On Interpretation): MS 179 Folio verso 151 (the text is a conflation of a number of set phrases): **և գոլն, և ոչն գոլ, իսկապա և եղանիլն, և ոչն եղանիլ** vel **եղանել.** eu goln, eu ozn gol, iscapa eu eglaniln, eu ozn eglanil vel eglanel.

Vuandalos quoque; sextam alphabeti literam ., quam .Non. appellant, pro .n. habere scripsimus.

շուշանա. Susana. **շարական.** Saracan.

John 20, 19. MS 347 Folio 50; verso 83: **շաբաթուն. (ի միաշաբաթւոջ.)** Sabathun. MS 347 has the same phrase as the Zohrabian.

Psalm 118, 13: **շրթամբք իմովք.** Sarthambch imΩch. This is correct, but Ambrogio takes the oblique form into the nominative.

Malachia 2, 7 MS 347 Folio verso 131: **շրթանք (շրթունք) քահանային զգուշասցին գիտութենէ (գիտութեան).** Sarthanch chahanaiin zgusasztin gituthene. The first word not only has an intrusive vowel in the first syllable, it has also been misread. MS 347 agrees with the Zohrabian.

Psalm 143, 13: **շտեմարանք նոցա լի են.** Stemaranch nozza li en.

Psalm 146, 2: **շինէ զեմ~ տր~.** Sinae Zieruslem tear.

John 1, 14 MS 347 Folio 54: **Լի շնորհօր և ճշմարտութենէ (Լի շնորհոք և ճշմարտութեամբ).** Li snorhΩr eu ismartuthene. The first form is clearly a misreading: the MS has **Լի շնորհաւք և ճշմարտութ~բ.**

Verso 166:

Athanasius' Symbols (perhaps part of 178): **և օչ շփոթելով զանձինսն.** eu oz sphothelΩ zanssinsn.

Vuandali penultimam sui alphabeti literam, quae vigesima prima est. , & .Schola. appellant, & (ut dictum est prius) ea semper pro .sc. utuntur.

ողիբամա. Odlibama. **ոողիբա.** Oogliba. **ոզիել.** Oziel. **ոզա.** Oza. **ոքողիա.** Ochozia. **ուրիա.** Vria. **ովբեթ.** Ωbeth.**ովսէէ.** Ωsaeae. **ուրիել.** Vriel. **ոզիա.** Ozia.

Isaiah 6, 1 MS 347 Folio verso 124: **և եղև յամին յորում մեռաւ ոզիայ (ոզիա) արքայ.** eu egleu iamin iorum merhau oziai (ozia) archai.

Porphyry: **ովրեստես ի տանտալեա.** Ωrestes i tantalea.

Matthew 21, 9 & 15 MS 347 Folio verso 48: **ովսաննայ** Ωsannai. **ովսաննայ օրհնութայ (օրհնութիւն) որդոյ դաւթի** Ωsannai orhnuthai (orhnuthiwn) ordoi Dauthi. The text is from MS 347, and the Zohrabian text lacks the 'Hosanna.'

Recto 167:

Matthew 6, 34 MS 347 Folio verso 90: **չար.** Zar.

Luke 6, 43 & 45 MS 347 Folio verso 106: **պտուղ չար.** Ptugl zar. **ծառ չար.** Tzarh zar. **և մարդ չար ի չարէն բխէ (բղխէ) զչարն.** eu mard zar i zaraen bhhae zzarn. All of the faults of the text are found in MS 347.

Luke 16, 25 MS 347 Folio verso 113: **և ղազարոս նոյնպէս (նոյնպէս) զչարչարանսն (զչարչարանս).** eu glazaros noimpaes zzarzaransn. Note that Ambrogio has progressive assimilation shown in the transliteration '-mp-'.

չարահաւ. Zarahau is the same as **չարագործ.** Zagortz. (this is a typographical error).

Luke 23, 32 & 33 MS 347 Folio verso 5: ածին և այլ երկուս չարագործս սպանանել ընդ նմա. Atzin eu ail ercus zaragortzs spananel iend niema. ի խաչ և զչարադործսն. I hhaz eu zzaragortzsn.

Verso 167:

Պետրոս. Petros. վեմ. Vem. Պաւղոս կամ պօղոս. Pauglos kam poglos. Պասեք կամ փերկութաի. Pasech kam phercuthai (phrkuthiwn). Պեատրիս. Peatris. (Italian Beatrice, in a late Middle Armenian transcription). Պռնարտոս. Prhnartos. (Bernardus). Պիղատոս. Piglatos. Պորփիրիոս. Porphirios.

Porphyry: (MS 178): Պլատոն աթենացի. Platon athenazti. առ պելլէպոնեսականն. arh pellaeponesacann.

ջէփէրիանոս. Zaephaerianos. ջասինքթոս. Zasinchthos. ջուրհոյս. zurhois. (the Zodiacal sign Aquarius).

Recto 168:

Ecclesiastical hymn (MS 346): ջորն (ջուրն) յուրդանանու զարհուրեցաւ. zurn iordananu zarhureztau.

Psalms 135 (136) 5 & 147 (148), 4: ջու.ք. (corrected ջուր.ք.) zurch.

Porphyry: ջեռուցանել. zeruztanel. ջեռուցանէ. zerhuztanae. ջերմային. zermaiin. ջերմ. zerm. ջերմե. (ջերմ է) zerme. ('j'erm ae': see note in Conybeare concerning tendencies of early orthography to avoid 'long e' and to combine noun and auxiliary). ի ջերմանոյ. I zermanoi. Ambrogio has given the lexical derivations of the root 'warm.'

ռուփոս. Rhuphos. ռեմիճիանոս. Rhemigios. ռեբեկկա. Rhebecca. ռագաւ. Rhagau. ռեկաբ. Rhechab. ռաւմանոս. Rhaumanos. ռօմանոս. RhΩmanos. ռամովթ. RhamΩth. ռաբբի. Rabbi. which is վադապետ (վարդապետ) Vardapet.

John I, 38 MS 347 Folio recto 10: **ասէն ցնա, ռաբբի որ թարգմանեալ կոչի վարդապետ ուր են օթեւանք քո.** Asaen ztna rabbi or thargmaneal cozi vardapet, vr en Ωtheuanch (Ωthevank') cho.

Verso 168

Ambrogio ever in the mode of eternity uses as examples three different spellings of the Greek title of Aristotle's *On Interpretation* : **բեռարմէնիաս.** Berharmenias, **Պերիարմէնիաս** Periarmenias, **Պերւարմէնիաս,** Peryarmenias. He opines the identity of 'b' and 'p' and of 'rh', 'ri', and 'ry.' This last assumes that 'hiwn' is directly derived from 'upsilon.' As Conybeare points out, the notes and text are intermixed in the MS and Middle Armenian and Classic forms can be found throughout the work.

սեթ, Seth. **սեմ,** Sem. **սեիր,** Seir. **սաղեմ,** Saglem. **սաբեդոն,** Sabedon. **սեփփորա,** Sephphora. **ստեփանոս,** Stephanos. And this name takes us to Stephan's last great summary of Biblical lore prior to his martyrdom:

Acts 7, 55 MS 347 Folio missing: **իբրև (և նա) եր լի հոգովն (հոգւով) սրբով,** Ibreu (ew na) er li hogΩn (hogwov) surbΩ. Note that the transliteration of 'srbov' does not delete the root vowel.

Matthew 22, MS 347 Folio recto 53: **սադուկեցիք,** Saduceztich. **զսադուկեցիսն** zsaduceztisn. Ambrogio comments on this alteration of 's' and 'k''; then he sets out the consonantal alterations **ց, ւ, ր,** in the deictic pronouns: (all taken from Porphyry) **այսոսիկ,** aisosic. **այսոցիկ,** aisozzic. **այսղքիկ,** aisochic. **այսուիկ,** aisuic. **այսորիկ.** aisoric.

Recto 169:

John 10 & Matthew 5 are given as two of many scriptural locations where the various forms of **նոսա,նոցա, նոքա.** nosa, nozta, nocha are found.

Porphyry: plurality and inflection are shown to be properly synthetic: **ասութիւն.** asuthiun. 'saying' **ասութիւնս.** asuthiuns. 'sayings' (but accusative

case as well). Հակասութիւնն. Hacasuthiunn. 'Contradiction' Հակասութիւնսն. Hacasuthiunsn. 'Contradictions' բացասութիւնն Baztasuthiunn. 'Negation' բացասութիւնսն. Baztasuthiunsn. 'Negations' Nominative: սոկրատես և պղատոն. Socrates eu Pglaton; Genetive: սոկրատոյր և պղատոնոյր. Socratoir eu Platonoir. սոփրոնիսկոս, Sophroniscos.

Verso 169:

Names from MS 178 and scriptural and liturgical sources: վալէնդ. Valend. վետաստոս. Vetastos. վեռզելայ. Verhzelai. վիցենցիոս. Viztenztios. վիտալիս. Vitalis. վլասայ. Vlazai. վիպիանէա. Vipianaea. վերադիտող. Veraditogl. (Bishop: Overseer) վարդապետ, Vardapet. Note that a late Latin name such as Vincent was pronounced with strong palatalization in the 14th century as these names come from MS 346.

2 Timothy 4, MS 347 Folio missing: կուտեսցեն իւրեանց վարդապետս. Cuteszten iureanzt vardapets.

և վարդապետութենէ. eu Vardapetuthene. He collects more lexical derivatives.

Luke 16 MS 347 Folio verso 111: վաղվաղակի. Vaglvaglaci.

տուբիա. Tubia. տաբիթա. Tabitha. տուբերտիոս. Tubertios. տոմինիկոս. Tominicos.

Psalm 145 (146), 7: տա (տայ) Հաց քաղցելոս (քաղցելոց) և արձակե (արձակէ) զկապեալս տեար (Տէր). Ta hazt caglztelos eu arxace zcapeals tear.

Porphyry: տանտալիդես. Tantalides.

Aristotle: տեսակ. Tesac equals սբեցիես. Spezties (actually spelled with a 'sb-'); տարբերութայ. Tarberuthai equals տիփերենցիա. Tipherenzzia. These Armenian Latinisms were writtten on the last page of the text of MS 178. Folio 101 of MS 179 has the Greek-Armenian philosophical vocabulary in Armenian letters.

Recto 170:

Psalm 119 (118), 141: **տանուկ (Մանուկ) եմ ես.** Tanuc em es. (he has misread the word for 'child/small')

The Armenian letter **տ** is related to the ultimate letter of the Vuandalic alphabet: Vuandali .t. simpliciter sumptum non habent. Sed in litera quarta, quae Tzeds, dicitur, & in tertia decima quae .Stehzh. vocatur, & ista quidem pro .stz. alia vero pro .ts. accipitur. At vigesima secunda, quae alphabetum Vuandalicum claudit. , .& .Tifho. appellat, semper quo .tf. accipienda est.

րահեսւ. Rahesy. (Latin 'pro Ragesu'); **րոդո՛ն կամ ռոդո՛ն,** Rodon kam rhodon. **վարդ.** Vard. **րոպե. (րոպէ)** Rope (ropae) is synonymous with **աշխարհ.** Ashharh

John 20, 16 MS 347 Folio lost: **րաբունի.** Rabuni. **եբրայեցարէն րաբունի որ թարգմանի վարդապետ.** Ebraieztaraen rabuni (Rabbuni) or thargmani vardapet.

The second letter discussed on this page **ր** is paired with a Vuandalic letter as well: Vandali .r. non habent nisi copulatum cum .o. praecedente scilicet .o. sequente .r. in duodecima litera, quam .Ouor. diximus appellari.

Verso 170:

ցուլ. Zzul. (Taurus) **ցուտ.** Zzut.**ցօղ.** ZzΩgl. **ցեց.** Zzezt.

Matthew 6, 20 MS 347 Folio recto 97: **գանձեցէք ձեզ գանձս յերկինս ուր և (0) ոչ ցեց և ոչ ուտի ճապականէ (ուտիճ ապականեն).** Ganxeztech xez ganxs iercins vr euoz (och') zzezt euoz (ew och') vti gapacane (utich apakanen). Again, Ambrogio has misdivided a word and created a nonce form, while missing the Armenian for 'worm.' Interestingly, the MS 347 copyist was equally uncertain here as he had **(ուտէ ճապականեն/ուտէճ ապականեն)** 'outae chapakanen' or 'outaech apakanen.' Ambrogio seems to have misscopied this passage

as he misses the proper plural form of the verb and the first instance of 'euoz' is not in the text.

John 2, 18 MS 347 Folio verso 47-48: **զուցա՛նես,** Zuzzanes. This form is nonexistent. **զի՛նչ նշա՛ն ցուցա՛նես դու մեզ զի զայդ առ՛նես.** Zins nsan zzuzzanes du mez zi zaid arhnes. Ambrogio mistakes the synonymy of 'z' and 'c" in this passage due to the difficulty of reading his MS's hand.

John 1, MS 347 Folio: **ցնա,** zna. This form's transliterated 'z' actually represents 'c".

Ambrogio speculates that this situation is similar to the pronunciation of 'ci' and 'ti' in Latin.

Recto 171:

Plants MS 178 Folio recto 4: **ւիւդոս պեպեր:** Yiudos peper (from the Greek) is equivalent to Armenian **պղպղակ:** Pegleglac. **ւիպերիկո՛ն.** Yipericon. **գոճամաւրու.** Gohamauru. **ւսիպո՛ն.** Ysipon. **մարզա՛նգաւշ.** Marzangaus.

իւսղոս անուն է մարդոյ. Yiusochos, anun ae mardoi.

փիսո՛վն. PhisΩn. **փաղեկ.** Phaglec. **փարես.** Phares. **փարփար.** Pharphar. **փեգո՛վր.** PhegΩr. More names from Philo's list in MS 178. **բեեղ-բեգովր.** BeeglbegΩr. With this name, he explores the loss of intervocalic aspiration in the transliteration of Semitic names into Greek and occasionally into Armenian, from Greek.

Psalm 105 (106), 30: **փե՛նեհեզ.** Phenehez. This form is from Philo; Ambrogio notes that the Psalms have **Փե՛նեես (Փե՛նեէս)** Phinees.This opens up into a comparative analysis of this name in Greek (Phinees; the same as canonical Armenian above), Hebrew (Pinchas), and Syriac (Phinhhes). It is interesting that this form of the name is closer to the Semitic original natural for Philo's list rather than to the Greek, which is to be expected in an Chalcedonian Psalter. Here are the transliterations of the various forms of this name: Greek: Phinees, Hebrew: Pinchas, Targum (from Nebbio's Psalter): Phinehhas, Syriac: Phinhhes, and Arabic (from Nebbio's Psalter): Phinhhas.

Verso 171:

This leads into an extended discussion of the aspirated or unaspirated nature of the voiceless labial stop in Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Punic, Persian, and Tatar.

Armenian **փ**: Quandoquidem ut iam dixisse credimus Syri, Chaldaei, Arabes, & Punici, Persae, & Tatari, & qui illorum alphaberto utuntur, prolationem literae .p. effugiant, nec unquam aut vix cum maxima etiam difficultate in exteris dictionibus .p. proferre queant. Quinimmo pro .p. semper .ph. utantur, ut dictum credimus. Hac litera ut in alphabeti descriptione posuimus, Armenici pro .p. & .ps. utuntur, ut exempla iam tradita indicant, praesertim quae de Diapsalmate, & Sampsone relata sunt, quamuis ibidem forte per .ph. scripta fuerint. Vuandali decimam octauam literam in ordine alphabeti habent. , . quam .Iphfa. dicunt, & pro .f. vel .ph. accipi potest, sic uti & decima septima, quae licet ut dictum est pro .p. scribi consueuerit, videtur tamen & pro .f. vsurpari posse, si elementi nomen attendimus, quod .pfes. dicitur, & rotam quasi distinctionis & separationis primarum consonantium supra .p. habet. quae similis est apostropho Graeco. Possumus idem quoque dicere de sexta decima eorum litera, quae .Behf. appellatur, & illi pro .b. vsurpandi fore diximus. Et ex hoc differentiam inter medium, tenuem, & aspiratam literam facillime colligere possumus. Habent tamen etiam Vuandali ipsi .f. cum .t. coniunctum in vltima alphabeti sui litera, ut supra a nobis relatum fuit.

Recto 172:

քամ. Cham. **քրիստոփորոս.** Christophoros. **քրիստինեա.** Christinea. **քորեբ.** Choreb. **քալիքսթոս.** Chalichsthos.

Psalm 111 (112), 5: **քաղց** (Corrected**քաղցր**) **այր ողորմի.** Chaglzzr air oglormi.

Porphyry: **քարական ի քարականութենե.** Characan i characanuthene.

Matthew 27, 28 MS 347 Folio verso 3: **քղամիթր կարմի.** (**քղամիդ կարմիր.**) Chglamithr carmi (k'ghamid karmir). This incorrect form is correctly copied

from the manuscript. The word 'k'ghamithr' appears again in the passage. Evidently, the copyist did not understand this Greek word for a cloak, yet misspelling 'karmir' is very unexpected.

John 2, 19 & 20 MS 347 Folio 48: **քակեցեք զտաճարդ զայտ.** Chacezzech zthagard zait. **զքառասուն և զվեց ամշ ինեցաւ (ամ շինեցաւ) տաճարս այս.** Zcharhasun eu zuezt ams ineztau (am shinec'aw) tagars ais. Note that Ambrogio is careless in transcribing Armenian 't.' The text in the manuscript is correctly divided and there is no reason for the misdivision of the simple words found here.

2 Kings 5, 1 MS 347 Folio 121: **ի քեբրոն.** I chebron.

Verso 172:

Luke 15, 7 MS 347 Folio 30: **քամ. (քան.)** cham. **քամ (քան) վն~ իննսուն և իննս (ինն) արդդոյ** (corrected **արդոյ) (արդարոյ).** cham van innsun eu inns ardoi (corrected from the emendations). This incorrect form of 'k'an' is surprising as is the mistaken form of 'ardaroy.' MS 347's version of the text is the same as the Zohrabian's.

Եսեբիոս. Eusebios.

Matthew 2, 1 & 2 MS 347 Folio 23-25: **յարևելից.** Iareuelizt. **յարեւելս.** Iareuels. Here we have the different cases used with the preposition.

Psalms 134 (135), 9 & 135 (136), 15: **ֆարաւովն. (Փարաւոն.)** PharauΩn. **ֆարաւովն. (Փարաւոն.)** Pharaon. **զֆարաոն (զՓարաւոն) և զօրսիւր (զզօրս իւր) ի ծով կարմիր.** Zpharaon eu zorsiur i tzou carmir.

John 1, 44 MS 347 Folio 9: **ֆիլիպպոս ի բեդսայիդա (բեթսայիդայ).** Philippos i bedsaida. Ambrogio's text is taken from MS 347.

Matthew 5, 19 MS 347 Folio recto 11: **ֆոքր (փոքր) կոչեոցի** (Corrected **կոչեսցի) յ արքայութենե (յարքայութեան) երկնի (երկնից).** Phochr cozeszti i archaiuthene ercni. Here 'ph' and 'f' are clearly misapplied. The manuscript agrees with Zohrabian.

Recto 173:

Luke 2, 1 MS 347 Folio verso 21: Օգուստոս և Աւգուստոս. Ogustos eu Augustos. The manuscript and Zohrabian have 'aw.'

Mark 16, 6 MS 347 Folio missing: զ~յս խնդրէք զնազօրացի զխաչելեալն. ZIesus hhendraech zNazΩrazti (Nazovrac'i) zhhazelealn. He points out that both օ. 'o' and ով. 'ov' can represent Greek 'omega.'

Luke 24, 19 MS 347 Folio verso 43 torn from book: Նազովրացոյ. NazΩrazzoi (Nazovrac'woy).

Verso 173:

Matthew 2, 23 MS 347 Folio 25: Նազարէթ զի լցցի բան մարգարէիցն (մարգարէին) թէ Նազովրեցի կոչեցի (կոչեսցի). Nazareth zi lizzzti ban margaraeiztn (margaraein) thae NazΩrezzi cozezti (koch'esc'i). Ambrogio's text follows the manuscript.

աւ. ով. can be used to spell the same word.

Mark 16, 2 MS 347 Folio missing: օծցեմ. oxzzem. օծցեն զնա. oxzzen zna.

Psalm 131 (132), 11 & 18: օծել. oxel, յաւծելո (յօծելոյ) քումմէ. Iauxelo chummae. օծելո իմո (օծելոյ իմոյ). oxelo imo.

John 1, 39 MS 347 Folio 10: օթեան. otheuan. աւթեանք (օթեանք). autheuanch. (Ωthevank') Oddly enough, MS 347 uses the 'long o' form of the word in its text.

Recto 174:

Psalm 146 (147), 2 & 8: աւրհնեցէք. aurhneztech. օրքնութաի. (օրհնութիւն.) Ωrchnuthai. օրքնութբ, (օրհնութեամբ.) Ωrchnutaib. The

strange forms with 'k'' for 'h' cannot be explained: Acharrean in his Root Dictionary does not list any dialect form that has 'k'' for 'h'; however, 'th' is found and forms without 'r' show the development of 'rh' to 'sh' and 'x.'

Matthew 19, 30 MS 347 Folio 1: **բազումք եղիցին առաջինք յետինք. և յետինք առաջինք.** Bazumch eglizzin, arhascinch ietinch. eu ietinch arhascinch. This passage in MS 347 has been copied in from a lost folio with many misspellings: Bazumch eglizzin, arhascinch ietinch. arhascinch. The text is missing the second phrase, and it is reasonable to think that the damage was subsequent to Ambrogio's death.

From MS 178 opinions of the Church Fathers: **և միութաի յերրորդութե~ (յերրորդութեան), և երրորդութի~ (երրորդութիւն) իմիութե~ (իմիութեան) պատուելոցիցէ.** eu miuthai ierrorduthene, eu errorduthai imiuthene patuelozzizzae.

Verso 174:

At this point, Ambrogio has completed his journey through the Armenian alphabet, which h consistently compares with the mysterious Vuandalic alphabet (this is a subject for a separate investigation). He now proceeds to investigate Armenian word formation, derivation and inflection: De syllabis servilibus Armenorum: Chapter XV:

He misdivides '-agoyn' and creates a comparative ending **Ագոյ.** Agoi, & **ոյ.** oi. His examples come from Aristotle (MS 179)

Aristotle Praedicabilitas: **հասարակ** hasarac. **հասարակագոյն.** hasaracagoin. Other examples include: **ծանաւթագոյն.** Xanauthagoin. **ընտանեգոյն.** Ientanegoin. These forms are, of course, created to translate Greek grammatical forms; Ambrogio could not have guessed their artificiality although Galanus and Holov would attempt to enshrine them in the common grammar and they do have some place today as a form of learned superlative.

Matthew 27, 46 MS 347 Folio 5: He entertains the semantics of իմ. 'im': ~ած (Աստուած) իմ. ~ած իմ. Astux im, Astux im. This is a new transliteration of a very often used text in Ambrogio.

Recto 175:

John 2, MS 347 Folio: տուն հայր իմոյ, տուն վաճառի. Tun hair imoi, tun vagarhi.

Porphyry: he has already mentioned the use of ոյր. -oir as a genitive in words such as Socratoir and Platonoir.

Aristotle Praedicabilitas: we move on to verbal morphology, the future in եսց. -Eszt-: ստորոգի. Storogi. ստորոգեսցի. Storogeszti. Հետեւ. Heteu. Հետեւեսցյ. Heteueszti. (Note the inappropriate use of 'y' for 'i' following Latin conventions). եսցէ. և եսցես. -Eszze eu -eszzes. This ending is also characteristic of the imperative: Մաքրեսցէ. Machreszte. պարգեւեսցես. Pargeuesztes. It is evident that Ambrogio realizes a great deal of the semantics of the Armenian verb.

Luke 3, MS 347 Folio: The ending է. '-ae' is pursued: եկեսցէ. Ecesztae (3rd person).

Matthew 27 MS 347 Folio: փրկեսցէ. Pharcesztae (note the 'a' used as a schwa).

He continues into the common noun inflections and nominal abstract derivations: ութայ, -Vthai, ութիւ, -vthiu, ութաբ, -vthab, ութենէ. -vthene. We have already commented upon the strange interpretation that can be given to this series: a denasalized variety of the common declension; however, there is little evidence for such a dialect and it may be that acute Ambrogio simply missed the true nature of the most common declension due to the abbreviations used.

Verso 175:

He illustrates their use with the root for 'evil' չար. zar. չարութաի. Zaruthai. (ch'aruthiwn).

Psalm: 140 (141), 4: բանիւ չարութենե. (չարութեան) Baniu Zaruthene.

Psalm 119, 68 & 102: և յ քաղցրութաբ քով. eu i caglzzuthab chΩ. (ew i k'ghc'ruthamb k'ov) քաւցոր. (քաղցր) Chaglzzor. քաղցրութաի. (քաղցրութիւն) Chaglzzruthai. Note the intrusive 'o' in the word 'k'aghc'r'. and the mistransliteration of many words. Clearly he does not understand the abbreviations here. We do not possess his Psalter so we cannot know if this is a manuscript form.

Psalm 145 (146), 5: օգնական. Ωgnacan.

Psalm 90 (91), 1: օգնութաի. (յօգնութեան.) Ωgnuthai.

Porphyry: He passes on to the prefixed particle վեր. 'Ver-': վերլուծանի. Verluxani. eu վերլուծութաի. Verluxuthai. ի վերլուծականսն. I Verluxacansn. He cites a marginal note of Latin in Armenian script which glosses the above words: ռեզօլուդօրիիս. RhezΩludΩriis. վերընդունին. Veriendunin. վերելից. Verelizt.

Recto 176:

ոց. -ozz is next. It has a plural significance.

Psalm 129 (130), 2: աղոթից իմոց. Aglothizt imozt.

Matthew 27, 25 MS 347 Folio 4: որդւոց մերոց. Ordiozt merozt.

He also looks into զի, 'Zi' and ցի. 'Tzi'. The later has many verbal and derivative functions; the former is a dependent clause marker equivalent to Latin 'ut.'

Matthew 26, 2 MS 347 Folio 150: խաչեսցի. և զի խաչեսցի. Hhazezti eu zi hhazezti. (xach'el anel)

Matthew 27, 32 MS 347 Folio 5: կիւրենեա. կիւրենացի. Ciurenea. Ciurenazti.

John 1: 41, 47 & 49 MS 347 Folios 9 &10: իսրաէլ. Israael. իսրաէլացի. Israaelazzi. Note that Ambrogio makes no distinction between -zt- and -zz-. իւր, Iur

brings us to զելբայրիւր. (զեղբայր իւր.) Zelbairiur. (zeghbayr iwr) where the normal 'gh' is written with a light 'l' and the pronoun is merged with its preceding word. The reading in the MS agrees with the Zohrabian text; this is Ambrogio's clear miscopying.

Verso 176:

Psalm 109 (110), 2 & 3: ծնաւ (ծնայ) զքեզ. Xnau Zchez. առաքեսցե (առաքեսցէ) քեզ Ahracheszte chez. The occasion is the exploration of Armenian քեզ. Chez.

His final topic is the use of the schwa ըզ. ըն. ը. 'Iez, ien, ie' intially, medially, and finally: ըզպանծալոյն. Iezpanxaloin. տեառըն մարմնոյն. Tearhien marmnoin. And its syllabic use when an 'i' or 'u' is lost when a word is inflected:

Porphyry: սուտ. Sut. սըտէ. Sietae. Here the added auxiliary has motivated the apocope or Ambrogio has misconstrued the meaning and we have some sort of ablative form. Ճշմարիտս գոլ. Hismarits gol. Ճշմարիտըս գոլ մարթի, Hismarities gol marthi.

Verso 177:

Idipsum etiam & apud Graecos in .Omicron. & .Omega. nec aliter a nostris in unius .o. prolatione obseruatum est Grammaticis. Idem (utsupra traditum est) ab Armenicis seruatur, in prolatione literae .Vuo. & .Aypyun. cum .Phyun. & in .Vuo. cum .Viech. quando simili versione mutantur in .Omega. Non aliter de reliquis vocalium notis, longis aut breuibus dicendum erit.

With this last example he closes his discussion of Armenian in the *Introductio...*

Part IV: Appendix to Chapter V

Pavia MS 347 and the Zohrabian Bible: a Comparative Study

The Contents of Codex 347 'Breviarium armenicum.' (Most properly a 'Lectionary' Ճաշոց)

Note that the book is identified as a Մաշտոց but that is the name for the Armenian 'Ritual,' which this book plainly is not; things are further obscured by the claim that the book is a 'Breviary' or a Ժամագիրք, but this is even further from the actual identity. This Codex represents a much damaged 'Lectionary and the identification should be changed in the manuscript catalogue.

The following list is an attempt to delineate the New Testament and Old Testament texts found in this 14th century Kaffa paper manuscript. We will note any missing pages when possible. The edition used is from a microfilm and the references are to folios, which will be designated recto and verso. The identification of the biblical author comes mainly from the text or from Latin glosses made by Ambrogio. Many passages were very well known and could be identified easily, while others were less so or were part of passages missing folios in the text.

Old Testament:

2 Samuel 5, 1-10	Folio 121-122r
Proverbs 10, 22-?	Folio 141 Identified as Wisdom.
Proverbs 11, 2-11	Folio 126-127r
Proverbs 2, 1-12	Folio 142-143r
Proverbs 3, 19-26	Folio 152
Proverbs 8, 4-8	Folio 122
Ecclesiastes 11, 9-10; 12, 1-3	Folio 153
Wisdom 1, 1-7	Folio 145 Identified as Proverbs
Wisdom 2, 23-25; 3, 1-7	Folio 144v-145 No identifying title.
Wisdom 7, 21-25	Folio 151v Identified as Proverbs
Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 24, 23-30	Folio 141v-142r Identified as Wisdom.

Isaiah 4, 2-6	Folio 122v
Isaiah 6, 1-7	Folio 124v-125r
Isaiah 33, 20-22	Folio 132
Isaiah 40, 3-8	Folio 124r
Isaiah 41, 1-3	Folio 130
Isaiah 41, 13-20	Folio 127
Isaiah 42, 7	Folio 128r
Isaiah 45, 17-19	Folio 123
Isaiah 54, 1-11	Folio 128-129r
Isaiah 58, 2-5	Folio 134
Isaiah 60, 20-22	Folio 125r
Isaiah 61, 3-6	Folio 129
Isaiah 66, 5-8	Folio 130v
Ezekiel 3, 17-21	Folio 125v-126r
Ezekiel 9, 11; 10, 1-2	Folio 129v-130r
Ezekiel 47, 4-13	Folio 133
Jeremiah 16, 16-21	Folio 131
Hosea 14, 3-4	Folio 128r Identified as Isaiah
Hosea 14, 6	Folio 127v Identified as Isaiah
Zachariah 2, 10-13	Folio 132v
Malachai 2, 5-7	Folio 131v
Malachai 3	Folio 132v a fragment
Malachai 4, 5-6	Folio 123v

New Testament:

Matthew 1, 21-23	Folio 21r
Matthew 1, 7-17	Folio 75
Matthew 2, 1-23	Folio 23-25
Matthew 2, 13-14	Folio 21v

Matthew 3, 1-15	Folio 73-74
Matthew 5, 1-12	Folio 32
Matthew 5, 13-16	Folio 68
Matthew 5, 17-20	Folio 11r
Matthew 5, 17-48	Folio 99-102
Matthew 6, 1-21	Folio 94v-97r (Pater Noster)
Matthew 6, 22-24	Folio 27v
Matthew 6, 22-34; 7, 1-27	Folio 90v-94r
Matthew 9, 18-26	Folio 76
Matthew 9, 36; 10, 1-9	Folio 84-85r
Matthew 10, 16-22	Folio 33r (The Wolves among the Sheep)
Matthew 10. 1-9	Folio 67-68r
Matthew 11, 25-29	Folio 42v
Matthew 13, 51-52	Folio 58r
Matthew 16, 13-20	Folio 68v-69r
Matthew 17, 1-13	Folio 69v-70
Matthew 19, 29-30	Folio 1
Matthew 20, 29-34; 21, 1-11	Folio 58-59
Matthew 21, 12-17	Folio 48v-49r
Matthew 22, 44-46	Folio 51r
Matthew 23, 1-12	Folio 86
Matthew 23, 4-12	Folio 119
Matthew 24, 30-35	Folio 85-86r
Matthew 25, 34-46	Folio 28r-28v
Matthew 26, 19-30	Folio 150
Matthew 27, 3-48	Folio 1-5r
Matthew 28, 1-20	Folio 60-61
Matthew 28, 57-61	Folio 19r
Mark 2, 1-12	Folio 77-78r

Mark 3, 14-19	Folio 90r
Mark 6, 15-22	Folio 12v-13v (Herod and John the Baptist)
Mark 13, 6-27	Folio 114-115
Mark 13, 32-37	Folio 20r
Luke 1, 26-38	Folio 72-73r
Luke 1, 41-44	Folio 14
Luke 1, 57-67	Folio 65-66r
Luke 2, 1-7	Folio 21v-22r
Luke 2, 22-40	Folio 26-27v
Luke 2, 8-11	Folio 134v
Luke 4, 43-45; 5, 1-11	Folio 97-98
Luke 5, 12-16	Folio 81v-82r
Luke 6, 20-23	Folio 52v
Luke 6, 7-48	Folio102v-106
Luke 7, 2-8	Folio 57
Luke 7, 11-14	Folio 20v
Luke 9, 1-6	Folio 16v
Luke 9, 24-27	Folio 53r
Luke 9, 44-48	Folio 53r-53v
Luke 10, 1-3	Folio 19v
Luke 10, 16-20	Folio 22v
Luke 10, 21-24	Folio 88v
Luke 11, 26-28	Folio 11r
Luke 12, 2-7	Folio 55
Luke 12, 2-8	Folio 64-65r
Luke 12, 32-48	Folio 109-111r
Luke 12, 36-40	Folio 83r
Luke 13, 33-35	Folio 66v
Luke 15, 1-10	Folio 30 (The Lost Sheep)

Luke 15, 8-32	Folio 107-109r (The Prodigal)
Luke 16, 1-27	Folio 111-113v (Lazarus and Dives)
Luke 21, 10-19	Folio 31
Luke 21, 34-38	Folio 11v-12r
Luke 21, 5-38	Folio 116-118
Luke 23, 32-49	Folio 5v-7r
Luke 23, 50-53	Folio 78v
Luke 24, 20-35	Folio 44r-45r
Luke 24, 36-40	Folio 45v
Luke 24, 41-53	Folio 62-63r
John 1, 1-18	Folio 54 (John the Baptist)
John 1, 35-42	Folio 10r-10v
John 1, 43-51	Folio 9-10r;Folio 51v-52r
John 2, 12-22	Folio 47v-48 (The Cleansing of the Temple)
John 3, 13-21	Folio 70v-71
John 4, 43-50	Folio 82
John 5, 38-47	Folio 56
John 5,19-30	Folio 15-16r
John 8, 57-59	Folio 76r
John 9, 39-41;10, 1-10	Folio 17v-18v
John 10, 11-16	Folio 17r-17v
John 10, 22-34	Folio 120
John 11, 1-46	Folio 38-42r (Lazarus)
John 11, 55-56;12, 1-11	Folio 37 (Lazarus' Feast)
John 14, 15-25	Folio 63-64r
John 15, 12-16	Folio 87
John 16, 20-25	Folio 87v-88r
John 16, 23-28	Folio 49v
John 16, 33; 17, 1-9	Folio 29

John 19, 12-17	Folio 28v
John 19, 25-41	Folio 7-8v
John 19, 39; 20, 1-18	Folio 78v-81r
John 20, 19-25	Folio 50
John 20, 26-31	Folio 83v (Doubting Thomas)
John 21, 1-25	Folio 46r-47r
Acts 2, 42-47; 3, 1-21	Folio 33v-36v
Acts 12, 1-2	Folio 145v
Paul: Romans 1, 1-12	Folio 136
Paul: Romans 16, 24-27	Folio 137v
Paul: 1 Corinthians 12, 2-8	Folio 147r
Paul: 1 Corinthians 12, 26-31; 13, 1-10	Folio 140
Paul: 1 Corinthians 15, 12-15	Folio 146v
Paul: 2 Corinthians 4, 1-7	Folio 137
Paul: Galatians 3, 24-29	Folio 149v
Paul: Galatians 5, 22-26	Folio 137
Paul: Ephesians 3, 13-21	Folio 138
Paul: Ephesians 4, 17-31	Folio 148-149r
Paul: 1 Timothy 3, 14-16	Folio 119v
Paul: 2 Timothy 2, 3-7	Folio 152v
Paul: Titus 2, 11-15	Folio 1
Paul: Hebrews 1, 3-12	Folio 135
Paul: Hebrews 2, 11-13	Folio 138v
Paul: Hebrews 2, 14-18	Folio 144r
Paul: Hebrews 6, 9-11	Folio 136v
Paul: Hebrews 11, 32-40	Folio 147-148r
Paul: Hebrews 13, 10-16	Folio 151

James 3, 5-14	Folio 146 The dangers of the tongue
1 Peter2, 1-3	Folio 152
2 Peter1, 16-19	Folio 153v
2 Peter3, 8-15	Folio 143
1 John 1, 9-10; 2, 1-2	Folio 139r
1 John 3, 2-9	Folio 139

The Troubled Text of Sirach 24:

There are a number of variant readings in MS 347 that differ from the Zohrabian Bible, yet a complete listing of these must wait for another work. Some sense of the variations can be had from the differences noted in the citations found in Ambrogio; however, I think it appropriate to give one extended example to the reader.

The following compares the various translations of Sirach 24 (the Greek is already a translation of a Hebrew original according to the Prologue). The texts are ordered according to the numbering scheme below; what is interesting is the lacunae or additions contained in the various traditions. The text from Pavia MS 347 (an Armenian Catholic 14th century Lectionary) clearly follows the Vulgate most closely, yet has significant departures from the Oskanean Bible (1666), which was translated directly from the Latin at the time of printing.

The Numbering of the Texts:

1. The Septuagint (Rahlfs): Sirach 24, 13-14 & 17-20
2. The New English Bible: Sirach 24, 13-14 & 17-22
3. The Jerusalem Bible: Sirach 24, 23-26
4. The Vulgate: Sirach 24, 17-19 & 23-31
5. Oskanean (1666): Sirach 24, 17-19 & 23-31

6. MS 347 (14th cen.): Sirach 24, 23-31

6a. Fragments of MS 347 from Ambrogio (Folios are missing from 347): Sirach 24, 17

7. Zohrabian (1805): Sirach 24, 17-19 & 22-29

8. Yerevan Theological Institute's Critical Text (1998): 17-19 & 22-29

Ambrogio's Sirach citations from MS 347 in the body of his *Introductio*...:

զկիպրի. Zcipri; **ի կադէս.** i cades. Ambrogio Recto 159

զտուկն վարդենոյ ի երիքով. ztucn vardenoi i erichΩ.

Ambrogio Verso 162

1. **ὡς κέδρος ἀνυψώθην ἐν τῷ λιβάνῳ**

2. There I grew like a cedar of Lebanon,

4. Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano,

5. **Իբրեւ զմայր բարձրացեալ եմ ի Լիբանանու.**

7. **Իբրեւ նոճ բարձր ի լերինն Լիբանանու:**

8. Իբրեւ նոճ բարձր ի լերինն Լիբանանու:

1. **καὶ ὡς κυπάρισσος ἐν ὄρεσιν Αερμων·**

2. like a cypress on the slopes of Hermon,

4. Et quasi cypressus in monte Sion;

5. **Եւ իբրեւ զսարդ ի լերինն Սիոն:**

6a. **զկիպրի.**

7. **Եւ իբրեւ սարդ ի լերինն Հերմոնի:**

8. Եւ իբրեւ սա՛րդ ի լերինն Ահերմոնի:

1. **ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνυψώθην ἐν Αιγγαδοις**

2. like a date-palm at Engedi,

4. Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades,

5. **Իբրեւ արմաւենի բարձրացեալ եմ ի Կադէս.**

6a. ի կադես.

1. καὶ ὡς φυτὰ ῥόδου ἐν Ιεριχω,

2. like the roses of Jericho.

4. Et quasi plantatio rosae in Iericho.

5. և իբրև զտունկ վարդոյ յերիքով.

6a. զտունկն վարդենոյ ի երիքով.

7. և իբրև վարդենի նորատունկ յերիքով:

8. Եւ իբրեւ վարդենի նորատունկ յերիքով:

1. ὡς ἐλαία εὐπρεπὴς ἐν πεδίῳ,

2. I grew like a fair olive-tree in the vale,

4. Quasi oliva speciosa in campis,

5. և իբրև ձիթենի գեղեցկագոյն ի դաշտի.

7. և իբրև ձիթենի վայելուչ ի դաշտի:

8. Եւ իբրեւ ձիթենի վայելուչ ի դաշտի:

1. καὶ ἀνυψώθην ὡς πλάτανος.

2. or a plane-tree planted beside the water.

4. Et quasi platanus exaltata sum iuxta aquam in plateis.

5. և իբրև բարձրացեալ զՍօս ի գնացս ջուրց ի Հրապարակի:

7. և իբրև սաւս ի գնացս ջուրց բարձրացայ:

8. Եւ իբրեւ սաւս ի գնացս ջուրց բարձրացայ:

7. և իբրև բևեկնի արմատացուցի զոստս իմ:

8. Եւ իբրեւ բեւեկնի արմատացուցի զոստս իմ:

1. ἐγὼ ὡς ἄμπελος ἐβλάστησα χάριν, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη μου καρπὸς

2. I put forth lovely shoots like the vine, And my blossoms were a harvest

3. I am like a vine putting out graceful shoots. My blossoms bear the fruit

4. Ego quasi vitis fructificavi suavitatem odoris; Et flores mei fructus

5. ես իբրև զորթ պըտղաբերեցի զհամեղութիւն հոտոյ և
ծաղիկ իմ պտուղք

6. ես որպէս զուռ պտղաբերեցի զհոտն կենաց և ծաղիկ իմ
պտուղ

1. δόξης καὶ πλούτου. εγω μητηρ της αγαπησεως της καλης, και
φοβου

2. of wealth and honor. (I gave birth to noble love, reverence,

3. of glory and wealth.

4. honoris et honestatis. Ego mater pulchrae dilectionis, et timoris,

5. պատուոյ և համեստութեան: ես մայր գեղեցիկ տարփման.
և երկիւղի,

6. պատուոյ և պարկեշտութեան: ես մայր ամբիծ սիրոյ և
երկեղի

7. Ոստք իմ ոստք փառաց և շնորհաց:

8. Ոստք իմ ոստք փառաց եւ շնորհաց:

1. και γνωσεως και της οσιας ελπιδος, διδομαι ουν πασι τοις
τεκνοις μου, αειγενης τοις λεγομενοις υπ

2. Knowledge and holy hope; and I gave all these my eternal progeny to God's

4. t agnitionis, et sanctae spei. In me gratia omnis viae et veritatis; In me omnis
spes vitae

5. և գիտութեան և սրբոյ յուսոյ: Ինև շնորհ ա~մի
ճանապարհի՝ և ճշմարտութեան: Ինև
ամենյան յոյս կենաց՝ և

6. և մեծութեան և սուրբ յուսոյ: Ի յիս շնորհք ամէն կենաց և

1. αυτου). προσέλθετε πρός με, οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντές μου,

2. elect.) Come to me, who desire me,

3. Approach me, you who desire me,

4. virtutis. Transite ad me, omnes qui concupiscitis

5. **զօրութեան: Առ իս անցէք ամանեքեան՝ ոյք ցանկայք**

6.**զաւրութեան. Ընկալարուք յինէն ամենիքեան որ ցանկայք**

7. **Մատիք առ իս որ ցանկայք ինև,**

8. Մատի՛ք առ իս որ ցանկայք ինեւ,

1. **τὸ γὰρ μνημόσυνόν μου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι γλυκύ,**

2. And eat your fill of my fruit. The memory of me is sweeter than syrup,

3. And take your fill of my fruits, For memories of me are sweeter than honey,

4. me, Et a generationibus meis implemini; Spiritus enim meus super mel

5. **ինձ. և ի տահմականաց իմոց լցարուք: Զի հոգի իմ գեր քան զմեղր**

6. **ինձ և յազգականաց իմոց լցջիք: Շունչիմ քան զմեղր**

7. **և ի պտղոյ արմտեաց իմոց լցջիք:**

8. եւ ի պտղոյ արմտեաց իմոց լցջի՛ք:

1.**καὶ ἡ κληρονομία μου ὑπὲρ μέλιτος κηρίον.**

2. The possession of me sweeter than honey dripping from the comb.

3. Inheriting me is sweeter than the honeycomb.

4. dulcis, Et haereditas mea super mel et favum.

5.**քաղցր. և ժառանգութիւն իմ ի վեր քան զմեղր և զխորիսխ:**

6. **քաղցր. և ժառանգութիւն իմ քան զմեղր և զխորիս:**

1. **οἱ εσθίοντές με ἔτι πεινάσουσιν,**

2. Whoever feeds on me will be hungry for more,

3. They who eat me will hunger for more,

4. Memoria mea in generationes saeculorum. Qui edunt me adhuc

5. **Յիշատակ իմ յազգս յաւիտենից: Որք ուտեն զիս, ևս**

6. **Յիշատակ իմ յազգսըն յաւիտեանից: Որք ուտեն յինէն ոչ**

7. **Յիշատակ իմ ազգէ յազգ.**

8. Յիշատակ իմ ազգէ յազգ.

1. **καὶ οἱ πίνοντές με ἔτι διψήσουσιν.**

2. And whoever drinks from me will thirst for more.

3. They who drink me will thirst for more.

4. esurient, Et qui bibunt me adhuc sitient Qui

5. **քաղցիցին. և ոյք ըմպեն զիս, ևևս ծարաւիցին. Որ**

6. **քաղցիցեն. և որք ըմպեն յինէն ոչ ծարաւեսցին: և որք**

7. **և որ ըմպեն յինէն՝ դարձեալ փափագեսցեն յիս:**

8. եւ որ ըմբեն յինէն՝ դարձեալ փափաքեսցին յիս:

1. **ὁ ὑπακούων μου οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσεται, καὶ οι ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσουσιν.**

2. To obey me is to be safe from disgrace, Those who work in wisdom will not go astray.

3. Whoever listens to me will never have to blush, Whoever acts as I dictate will never sin.

4. audit me non confundetur, Et qui operantur in me non peccabunt;

5. **Լսէ ինձ, ոչ ամաչէ. և որք գործեն ինև, ոչ մեղանչն:**

6. **Լուիցեն ինձ ոչ ամաչեսցեն. և որք գործեն յիս ոչ մեղանչեն:**

4. Qui elucidant me vitam aeternam habebunt.

5. **Ոյք պայծառացուցանեն զիս, զկեանս յաւիտենականս ստասցին:**

6. **Որք լուսաւորեսցին յինև կեանս յաւիտենականս կալցին:**

Part V: Appendix to Chapter V: The Vuandalic Alphabet According to Teseo Ambrogio

Ambrogio's Vuandalic alphabet is quite a mystery. Almost all other referenced alphabets are given as simple tables or are discussed in one chapter at length; this one, however, is literally strewn throughout the book. The numerical order of the letters is given for only some of the hand-written exempla and all of them are compared to Coptic, Dalmatian, Macedonian or Armenian. As we will see below, only one letter is given in a massive comparison of all of the alphabets he had discussed up to that point.

I will give all of the Latin commentary on this alphabet and a list of the letters included in the text. Where the order is questionable, I will mark the letter with a question mark. Note that this Vuandalic language hardly seems to have a phonology expected of a language related to Gothic. Could this be a Slavic language (Wendish for instance) whose name has undergone a slight phonetic deformation?

1. , quae .aha. dicit...

2. , quam .tsieca., vel .csieca.?

3. , .Geth. quae pro .gh.

4. , quam .tzads. appellant

5. , .Deddz. pro. d.

6. , .non.

7. , quam .Hui. appellant, & ea pro .i.

8. , .Quohfu. nominant.

12. , .Ouor. dicitur.

13. ,Stchzh. appellant

14. ,.Vfin. , .vn.

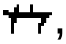
15. , .Ohh. pro .oh.

16. ,buchf/.Behf. p/b?

17. , .pfes.

18. , .Iphfa. .f. vel .ph.

19. , .xzadzc.& pz

9. , quam .mum. appellant.

10. , cuius .esse., & duplicis ss (11th, too) ?

11. , .Ed. (Called 11th.) ?

20. , .Kecse. , & .x.

21. ,.Schola. , .sc.

22. ,.Tifho. , .tf.

Usually he has a chapter given over to the analysis of an alphabet or at least a chart listing all of the values of the letters (phonetic and numeric), but with this alphabet (Vuandalic) he mentions it only on various pages in the book and illustrates it with hand written inserts. It appears largely in the sections devoted to Coptic, Bulgarian and Armenian, with Armenian predominating.

The alphabet has 22 signs although five or six are of uncertain order. It does not have pure vowels except for a, e, and i; o is always tied to a resonant (r) and represents a syllabic as does u (always with a nasal).

The number of affricates is astonishing: stchtz, c, tz/ts, pf, pz, ks, and tf. While some of these might be used in a High German dialect, none of these is appropriate to a language related to Gothic!

My first inclination was to assume that the alphabet was a partial list of an off-shoot of Glagolitic and that Vuandalic was a misshaping of Wendish. The phonology looks Slavic. Is it possibly some sort of Basque (the affrication and simple vowels would fit, but I have no real reference works on Basque here)?

The letters are compared with Glagolitic (his Dalmatian), yet they more often conform to Gothic or Runic Futhark: none of them are directly related to known alphabets as far as I can discern.

One other unique feature is that Ambrogio mentions no texts at all in the language. He must have only possessed the alphabet and the names of the letters, which he assumes follow an acrophonic principle. The order of the letters is most irregular and does not seem to follow any Semitic or Greek based format.

Is there any new material on the Vandal tongue: epigraphic or numismatic? Everything that I know of says that the Vandals wrote in Latin on all of their official productions.

E. Nestle mentioned in his 1904 article on the Syriac in Ambrogio, published in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, LVIII, that he had written an earlier article on the first Gothic or Runic alphabet printed in Europe, which was found in Ambroigio as well (folios 206-207). However, Nestle's copy of Ambrogio was without the handwritten additions so that he could not have examined the Vuandalic. These 'Runic' alphabets are simply given on woodcut charts and the first two are called Etruscan, the third Gothic and the fourth Greek. The fourth is closest to Gothic, the third is closest to the Futhark (with some inversions or mirroring) and the first two are most reminiscent to my Vuandalic font. Note here that the first Etruscan alphabet is written in the Right to Left order common to Etruscan epigraphy; there is accuracy in Ambrogio's presentation.

Folio 50:

The description of the Vuandalic alphabet begins on folio 50 amidst a description and a formal comparison to other alphabets of the Coptic letters. Most of the comparisons are based upon shape rather than phonology.

The Vuandalic letter is described thus: Vigesima prima consonans (Coptic) dicitur .gieusa. vel .ieusa., ac .hieusa, cum aspiratione leni. . ut apud Armenicos in suo .gie. & videtur esse lamaliph Punicum, & vuandalorum prima alphabeti litera , quae .aha. dicit, & .a. literae fungitur officio, triplicemoque habet insinuat .g. scilicet .y. & .hy. ut in Armenicis conformationibus dicetur.

Folio 51:

On this page the comparison is with the Dalmatian or Glagolithic letters. Vuandali vero .p. .b. habent literam , quam .buchf. appellant.

Folio 59:

Still within the chapter on Dalmatian, Vuandalic is mentioned again: Scrutentur vero diligentius hoc, qui curiosa sectantur, interim nos consonantium conformationem prosequamur, si prius tamen Vuandalos pro c & k literam , quam .tsieca., vel .csieca. appellant, habere dixerimus.

Vuandali literam l non habent, sed nec etiam in alphabeti nominibus reperitur, praeterquam in litera penultima quam .schola. , nominant , & pro .sc. a nobis accipienda est. Thus, although the alphabet does not have a lateral (a phonological fact realized in the Berber dialects, where Vandals once ruled), the name of a letter actually contains a lateral phoneme. This is very peculiar.

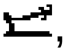
Folio 60:

Still within the discussion of Dalmatian: ... ne dum .m. litera, verum etiam reliquae pene omnes alphabeti literae suis conformibus respondeant. Vuandali pro hac litera habent , quam .mum. appellant.

Folio 61:

...Hanc praeterea literam in duodecim consonantium numeratione Dalmata locavit, & eodem nomine appellauit ,nas. & sicuti .nun. Hebraeis, Chaldaeis, Syris, Punicis, & .gni. Graecis, & aliis quampluribus, ac .non. , Vuandalis, ita pro n nobis succurrit, quamquam figura omnibus diversa sit, etiam Dalmata ipsis, quippe litera eorum .nas. quae dudum typis excussa circunferetur .p. latino .rho. Graeco quadrato, & .Ia (ia). Indo, similis admodum existit... Obviously, the form is as important to Ambrogio as is the phonology.

Folio 62:

Vuandali duplex p habent, simplex scilicet & compositum. & simplicis figura talis est, qualis & typographici Samaritani iam supra descripti beth & pfes , appellant. Compositum vero dicitur ab eis .xzadzc. , & semper pro pz pro p nimirum & z numquam separatim positis intelligit.

Folio 63:

Vuandali hanc literam ignorant, ut de simplici r intelligamus, coniunctam tamen cum o habent, nominantque; illam .ouor. , & pro or accipienda est, hoc est pro o & r simul in syllabam copulatis.

Folio 66-67:

Vuandalos, videlicet literam s (de qua nobis est sermo) in suo alphabeto, non simplicem, sed quatuor semper modis copulatam habere. Aut enim cum t iungitur, sibi (ut diximus) cognata praecedente aut subsequente, ut in litera , quam .tzads. appellant, & pro ts a nobis capienda est. Aut cum altero s ut geminum ss intelligamus, in , cuius nomen est .esse., & duplicis ss officio semper fungit. Aut cum s,t & z simul complexis, coque; ordine connexis, ut triplex iste literarum nodus, nunquam in litera , quam illi .Stchzh. appellant dissoluatur, quippe semper pro stz sumenda est. Aut sane cum c inseparabilem haec litera connexionem habet, ut in penultima sui alphabeti litera (de qua supra mentionem fecimus) , .schola., quae semper pro sc simul inctis servire consucuit. Videor mihi videre dum ista refero, legentes somnia me recensere arbitraturos, quae tamen vera, fidelique traditione referuntur. Proinde non frustra etiam me suspicari posse, facile crediderim, quod si beatus ille ecclesiae doctor Hieronymus, tantum in huiusce Vuandalorum linguae, quantum in Chaldaeorum lingua, literisque cognoscendis, atque; pronunciandis laborasset, non illa profecto stridentia, anhelantiaque; verba dixisset, sed haec. Quae praeter quam quod ex infimo pectore, ex intimisque; pulmonibus depromenda sunt, graviusque; inflata, & anhelata verba cognoscuntur, densum praeterea

stridorem quendam suscitare videntur, ut nec magis horrifer aquilonis stridor esse queat. Cum tres, sine media vocali, scriptae simul consonantes proferendae sint, & illae sane vel maxime, quae a nostra connexione plurimum abhorrent, quam cognoscere possunt, qui consonantium in constitutione syllabarum connexionem non ignorant. Id tamen studiose lector te haudquaquam omnino deterreat, nec a peregrinarum linguarum; lectione submoveat.

Here is a clear example of the influence of Reuchlin's use of Hebraic-Arab articulatory phonologic categories (see Folios 86-87 for the full system and a reference to Reuchlin).

Folio 77:

An overview of alphabetic associations is the purpose of folios 76-78. The Vuandalic letter is compared with Syriac and Hebrew, Coph and all of the the /k/ designating letters in Greek, Latin, Macedonian, Dalmatian, Samaritan, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, etc.

...& pro , .Tsieca. Vuandalorum, quod pro C & K accipitur, nobis succurrit.

Recto 96:

This page is not noted in the table of contents' list of pages mentioning Vuandalic. The discussion concerns the 'spiritual' power of various languages and their alphabets--especially in the numerological area: Hanc Hebraei, Chaldaei, Samaritani, Syri, Armeni, Graeci, & Latini, & inter graecos qui Augasiam, & Carthaeam, sive ut aiunt temporibus istis Tzarcasiam **τῆς μεγάλης ἰβηρίας ἣ πρός πέρσας ἐστί. Tis megalis iuirias hi pros persas esti.** magnae scilicet iberiae (quae inter Persas est) incolunt. & Gorgi, & Iacobitae, & Cophtitae, & Virgilius quidam insignis quondam Graecus Philosophus, & magnus Tianaeus Apolonius, & hi qui grammata quae hieroglyphica vocantur scripsere, in suis alphabetis quintam in ordine literarum posuerunt. Indi in primo, Macedones, Missii, Russii, Dalmatae, suam huic respondentem literam in sexto literarum

numero habent. Persae, Turcae, Tartari, Arabes, & Punici, & Maometani fere omnes literam huiusce potestatis in antepenultima, vigesima scilicet septima sui alphabeti sede, collocarunt, tametsi etiam .He. in sexto ordine possideant. Vuandali quoque in undecima sui alphabeti numeratione literam . . .Ed. reponunt, quae licet pro .e. accipi possit, non tamen simpliciter .e. intelligitur, sed simul .e. & .c. coniuncta elementa intelligenda sunt. Istas numerorum obseruationes hoc in loco recensui, ut animum aduertant, qui ne dum pythagoricas verum etiam patrum Hebraeorum sacras in numeris computationes, (& praecipue in illarum alphabeti Hebraici literarum observatione, quae in divinis aliisque mysticis nominibus & sacris insertae sunt) non ignorant, & oculos ad hanc vel maxime .He. literam convertant.

Recto-Verso 122:

Proinde qui hanc literam per .t. & .z. Tzade, aut per .t. & .s. Tsade, scribunt, & proferunt, non mihi videntur Hebraice, sed Arabice, atque Vuandalice, & scribere &, proferre, qui quartam decimam (de Punicis loquor) alphabeti literam huic respondentem Tzat, appellant. Et quo ad Vuandalos spectat, qui quartam illorum alphabeti literam Tzeds nominant, & pro .ts. accipiunt.

Verso 149:

Now he is comparing the Vuandalic with the Armenian letter դ. ...Vuandali quintum alphabeti sui literam , .Deddz. appellatam habent quae a nobis pro. d. accipienda est.

Recto 150:

He moves on to Armenian է: Appellant Vuandali undecimam sui alphabeti literam hanc. , .Ed. quae pro e. nobis succurrit sed non pro solitario dumtaxat .e. quin potius cum adnexo sibi semper .c. & syllaba erit .ec.

Recto-Verso 158:

The Armenian letter is խ, and Vuandalic has two aspirated letters: Vuandali simplicem aspirationem, sed nec fortem in suo alphabeto habent, sed dumtaxat literas duas aspirationem semper adnexam habentes in suo alphabeto adscribunt. Quarum prima est. , .Geth. quae pro .gh. semper acipitur, & est tertia in ordine literarum alphabeti. Secunda est . , .Ohh. quinta decima alphabeti litera, & pro .oh. cum aspiratione adnexa semper scribitur.

Recto 163:

The Armenian letter is ծ, and the Vuandalic is replete with sister sounds: Litera ista similis est quartae alphabeti Vuandalorum literae quae. , .Tzeds. vocatur, & pro .ts. accipitur. Necnon & undecimae . . quae .esse. appellat, & nobis geminatum .ss. representat. Quinetiam & vigesimae . , quae .Kecse. dicitur, & .x. nobis ob oculos ponit.

Recto 166:

The Armenian letter is ն, and the Vuandalic cognate is somewhat the same in shape: Vuandalos quoque; sextam alphabeti literam . , quam .Non. appellant, pro .n. habere scripsimus.

Verso 166:

The Armenian letter is շ, and the Vuandalic cognate has some similarities in shape again: Vuandali penultimam sui alphabeti literam, quae vigesima prima est. , & .Schola. appellant, & (ut dictum est prius) ea semper pro .sc. utuntur.

At the bottom of the page he continues with the Armenian ո/օ/ով; the Vanadlic requires a vowel consonant combination: Vuandalos literas habere, non tamen pro simplici .o. quidoquidem altera earum quae duodecima in alphabet ordine numeratur, & . , .Ouor. dicitur. & pro syllaba .or. accipitur. Alia & quintadecima . , .Ohh. dicta pro .oh. semper a nobis intelligenda est.

Recto-Verso 167:

The Armenian letter is չ, and the Vuandalic equivalents are many; Vuandalic is a palatalizing/affricating language: Seruit autem nobis pro .z. simplici, quam non habent Vuandali, sed dumtaxat copulatam cum .ts. aut .p. ut in litera tertia decima quae .Stehzh. . & quae pro .stz. coniunctim nobis seruit. Alia vero decima nona quae . , .Xzadze. appellatur, & pro .pz. simul capienda est.

Recto-Verso 169:

The Armenian letter is ս, and the note on Vuandalic is curt: De literis Vuandalicis huic nostrae respondentibus insuperioribus iam satis diximus.

The Armenian letter is վ, and Ambrogio connects this letter with the following Vuandalic one: Sicut iam dictum a nobis fuit litera, radicalis est & seruilis, consonans & vocalis, & .o. paruum, adnexa illi .o. magnum facit. Pro hac litera Vuandali quartum decimim alphabeti sui literam habent, quam ., ,.Vfin. appellant., & semper nobis pro syllaba .vn. deseruit.

Recto 170:

The Armenian letter is տ, and it is related to the ultimate letter of the Vuandalic alphabet: Vuandali .t. simpliciter sumptum non habent. Sed in litera quarta, quae Tzeds, dicitur, & in tertia decima quae .Stehzh. vocatur, & ista quidem pro .stz. alia vero pro .ts.

accipitur. At vigesima secunda, quae alphabetum Vuandalicum claudit. , .& .Tifho. appellat, semper quo .tf. accipienda est.

The second letter discussed on this page is ր, and it is paired with a Vuandalic letter we have already discussed: Vandali .r. non habent nisi copulatum cum .o. praecedente scilicet .o. sequente .r. in duodecima litera, quam .Ouor. diximus appellari.

Recto -Verso 171:

The Armenian letter is ւ, and the related Vuandalic letter is .Hui: Vuandali hanc literam non habent, sed pro omni .i. tam longo quam breui, & communiseu medio, septimam ostentant nobis sui alphabeti literam . , quam .Hui. appellant, & ea pro .i. semper in suis dictionibus vtuntur.

Armenian փ: Quandoquidem ut iam dixisse credimus Syri, Chaldaei, Arabes, & Punici, Persae, & Tatari, & qui illorum alphaberto utuntur, prolationem literae .p. effugiant, nec unquam aut vix cum maxima etiam difficultate in exteris dictionibus .p. proferre queant. Quinimmo pro .p. semper .ph. utantur, ut dictum credimus. Hac litera ut in alphabeti descriptione posuimus, Armenici pro .p. & .ps. utuntur, ut exempla iam tradita indicant, praesertim quae de Diapsalmate, & Sampsone relata sunt, quamuis ibidem forte per .ph. scripta fuerint. Vuandali decimam octauam literam in ordine alphabeti habent. , . quam .Iphfa. dicunt, & pro .f. vel .ph. accipi potest, sic uti & decima septima, quae licet ut dictum est pro .p. scribi consueuerit, videtur tamen & pro .f. vsurpari posse, si elementi nomen attendimus, quod .pfes. dicitur, & rotam quasi distinctionis & separationis primarum consonantium supra .p. habet. quae similis est apostropho Graeco. Possumus idem quoque dicere de sexta decima eorum litera, quae .Behf. appellatur, & illi pro .b. vsurpandi fore diximus. Et ex hoc differentiam inter medium, tenuem, & aspiratam literam facillime colligere possumus. Habent tamen etiam Vuandali ipsi .f. cum .t. coniunctum in vltima alphabeti sui litera, ut supra a nobis relatum fuit.

Verso 174:

Ambrogio closes both his discussion of the Armenian and the Vuandalic alphabets on a theological note, the significance of Ayp Yun with Alpha and Omega: Et unitas in trinitate, & trinitas in unitate veneretur. Et per praedicta literarum conformatio explicita sit , & adducta per nos exemplas sufficiant. Illud praeterea sciendum est (quod pene omisseram) Vuandalos literam .q. non simpliciter habere, ut plerasque alias, sed cum sibi adnexo semper .u. & est octaua alphabeti illorum litera, quam . , .Quohfu. nominant. Superest ut syllabas nonnullas adiectitias brevissime quo ad fieri poterit in medium adducamus, ut introductio magis sit abundans. Habent enim Armenici etiam ipsi famulantes in dictionibus syllabas, ut de literis supra dictum fuit.

Finally, a chart of the Vuandalic alongside the Hebrew and Greek will display the formal regularities of the alphabet, which largely ignore the ascribed phonology:

1. , quae .aha. dicit...	א	Α
2. , quam .tsieca., vel .csieca.?	ב	Β
3. , .Geth. quae pro .gh.	ג	Γ
4. , quam .tzads. appellant	ד	Δ
5. , .Deddz. pro. d.	ה	Ε
6. , .non.	ו	F
7. , quam .Hui. appellant, & ea pro .i.	ז	Ζ
8. , .Quohfu. nominant.	ח	Η
9. , quam .mum. appellant.	ט	Θ
10. , cuius .esse., & duplicis ss (11th, too)?	י	Ι
11. , .Ed. (Called 11th.) ?	כ	Κ
12. , .Ouor. dicitur.	ל	Λ
13. , quam .Stchzh. appellant	מ	Μ
14. , .Vfin. appellant., .vn.	נ	Ν
15. , .Ohh. pro .oh.	ס	Ξ

16. , quam .buchf/.Behf. p/b?	ע	O
17. , .pfes.	פ	Π
18. , . quam .Iphfa. .f. vel .ph.	צ	(San)
19. , .xzadzc.& pro pz	ק	Q
20. , quae .Kecse. dicitur, & .x.	ר	P
21. , & .Schola. appellant, .sc.	שׁ	Σ
22. , .& .Tifho. appellat, .tf.	ת	T

One immeditally detects that Ambrogio's alphabet is most likely written from Right to Left (as had been Etruscan as well as most Semitic alphabets). Moreover, it is derived from a Semitic alphabet, but not the Aramaic. I already mentioned a lack of an 'l' phone that suggets a connection with Berber or Numidian. The alphabets of the Numidians were based upon the invading Phoenician's, but did not maintain its order or phonetic values and none of these were standardized so that they developed tribal variations in letter shapes. Maintenance of a borrowed alphabet's received order largely depends upon its dual use as a numerical system; the Numidians may not have needed the latter function (see Gamkrilidze). The Vandals ruled in North Africa for almost two centuries and their name could easily be attached to an alphabet from the area even as their name is still referred to in the appellation of Southern Spain--Andalucia. This is only a suggestion. I have not been able to compare the Orhon Runes or proto Iberian epigraphy and these may still provide other avenues of approach.

Afterword

We have examined each of the Armenian citations made by Teseo Ambrogio and Guillaume Postel, while we have given a generous selection of the materials found in Rivola, Galanus and Schroeder.

Ambrogio's synchronic presentation of a diachronic linguistic situation (he used texts from different communities, traditions and periods) may have influenced the later Catholic missionary conviction that the Armenian language needed regularization and standardization along the lines of Latin. Nonetheless, he also presented the Renaissance world with a very familiar territory in a very unfamiliar garb (the Armenian language and alphabet).

It may seem trivial today, but the form and shape of the written word had profound meaning for the Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance world. Early printing was still immersed in this World of significant irregularities that were native to the uniqueness of the manuscript; only a century of book making would finally impress readers and authors with the importance of regulation and comparative standardization: tables, alphabetization, and indices were not automatically recognized as the innovative tools that printing made available to all (Ong a.). Ironically, this world of the unstandardized was also profoundly ahistorical, so that our interest in time-laden variation was hardly considered by the scholars of the day.

Ambrogio's task was to set out the commonalities of Christian communities divided by language and alphabets; he did this with remarkable precision, and it became the task of other, later scholars, to emphasize the profound differences that separated supposedly Christian brothers. In conclusion, it would be beneficial to reuse a paragraph that I included in Chapter II:

Ambrogio's world view may be clarified by reference to a dichotomous classification of scholarship found in a history of Renaissance printing. Butler notes that there are crucial differences between the antiquarian and the historian: one collects facts for themselves, while the other uses the facts collected to create an interpretational diagram of the past's reality (Butler). As we examine Ambrogio's table of contents we realize

that he was better placed on the antiquarian side of the continuum connecting these two world views; it was the nature of his times that the antiquarian approach predominated, yet it is that very antiquarian material collected that allows the later historian (a Gibbon for instance) to proceed. (Butler, Grafton, Cowe)

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Mantissa (addendum to the addition containing a letter to Sassi from the Bishop of Brescia, Angelus Maria Quirinus, and a letter from Sassi to Quirinus. Both are descriptions of the Brescian and Pavian productions of Oriental books.)

Column 12 The bishop notes that AT's book was of great note not only in Italy but throughout Europe--he restored the Oriental Languages to the Continent. Also, a Brescian, the father of Alessandro Paganini (the first printer of the Quran) was largely responsible for the fonts used by AT.

He quotes Johannus Schelhorn from Tome XIII of his Amoenit. Literatur. where he refers to Johan Albert Widmanstetter meeting AT in 1529 when Charles V was crowned (in Bologna as already noted?). He also writes of Postel.

The Brescian, Alessandro Paganini, had published an Arabic Quran and Theseus procured one for Postel, who used it principally in his Arabic Grammar. (Postel writes a letter to Theseus to which Theseus attaches a note: that it is all due to Alex. Paganinus, who formed the font in Punic letter, which I will make over to Postel for his little book of examples of types in 12 different languages.

Column 52 Sassi writes the bishop praising Theseus and notes his letter from Afranus Canonicum Ferrarienses to his father (Afranus created the phagotus).

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p. 569 Ambrogio: At five months he spoke and at five years wrote Italian, Latin and Greek. In 1512 at the Fifth Latean Council he met Marionite and Syrian delegates (Mercoti also mentions David the Armenian from Antioch) and began the study of Syriac (Arabic and Armenian?).

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Kévorkian, R. H. ed. (1996) *Arménie entre Orient et Occident*, Paris.

Kittel, Rudolf, ed. (1950) *Biblia Hebraica*, Stuttgart.

Koriun, (1964) *The Life of Mashtots*, AGBU of America.

Kuntz, Marion, (1981)*Guillaume Postel: Prophet of the Restitution of All Things; His Life and Thought,* Martinus Nijhoff: the Hague.

Launay, M., (1981) 'Le *De originibus* de 1538: une rhétorique des origines,' in *Guillaume Postel 1581-1981*, Paris.

Lee, O. (1998) 'Culture and Democratic Theory: Toward a Theory of Symbolic Democracy,' *Constellations*, V, #4, December, pp. 433-455.

Lepschy, Guilio, (1990) *Storia della Linguistica*, vol. 1 & 2, il Mulino, (vol 2 has essay by M. Tavoni on Renaissance Linguistics, PBI: XXVII 1 R 25.1.

Leslau, W. (1946) *Bibliography of Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, NY Public Library, p. 18 (same as above).

Leslau, Wolf, (1965) *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, Mouton. VL: Bibliografia II Africa Ethiopia 2 cons.

Levi Della Vida, G., (1960) *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, pp. 39-41. (see xerox).

Levi Della Vida, Giorgio, (1939) *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico dei manoscritti orientale della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Biblioteca Vaticana. VL: Coll. Gen. I 45 (92) cons.

pp. 37-38 Teseo's help in the acquisition of a Samaritan alphabet.

p. 80 Joannes Albertus Widmestadius (footnote 1) Briefly AT's student at Reggio Emilia.

p. 98 That AT went to Rome to use the Vatican manuscripts in 1512. Footnote 1 refers to David Diringer below.

pp. 132-135 AT and the Syriac manuscripts.

p. 139 Postel (140) Chaldiaca=Judeo-Aramaic.

p. 141 Ambrogio and Widmanstetter meet in Bologna 1529.

p. 144 Postel was the main editor of Widmanstetter's Syriac New Testament.

pp. 307-308 Postel introduced Arabic studies to Europe.

pp. 308-327 Postel's Arabic manuscript acquisitions: he makes many mistakes in Arabic transcription into Latin, cf. p. 317 footnote 1.

p. 320 footnote 2 Librorum Punicorum refers to Arabic Maghrebi script in both Postel and AT.

p. 325 footnote 1 Postel's example of Ethiopic are still noted as Indiana following AT and against `caldaica' of Giovanni Potken's 1513 Roman edition of the Psalter.

p. 216 Leonardo Abel was a Maltese bishop who collected oriental manuscripts for the Vatican. His translator and secretary was an Armenian, Tommaso , translator of the New Testament into Persian. Levi Della Vida refers to a short confession of faith in the collection Vat. Ar. 1492: Michael, the Melekite Archbishop writes a reference to this Tommaso in Arabic (LDV believes it is Michael's hand) **} Ãæä }¿ø f ~ £ø¬Ü f** √∫π**ö** , for poor Thomas the Armenian from Aleppo, then in Latin, Tomas de Angelis Armenus (LDV says this is in Abel's hand). Footnote notes Abel's two line transcription of Thomas's confession of faith in Armenian script. Abel apparently could read Armenian.

R. Contini notes that Levi Della Vida mentions three or four words in Kurdish written in Syriac script; I could not find it referred to in the very substantial index under `kurd' etc. I must ask Contini for further references.

Levinas, Emmanuel, (1975) *Proper Names*, Stanford University Press.

The title reminds us that Ambrogio's work is largely a comparative linguistic study of Biblical proper names. A philosophical approach to the ethics of designation is crucial to an understanding of Ambrogio's work.

Levinas, E. (1986) ‘Bad Conscience and the Inexorable,’ in *Face to Face with Levinas*, State University of New York Press pp. 35-41.

Liddell, H. G., R. Scott (1968) *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford.

Lombordelli, Crazio, (1568) Della pronunzia toscana. VL: Capponi V 611 int. 2. pp. 2-31. (second work bound in the volume). (see xerox)

Lovarini, Emilio, Padovan dialect. VL: Lingua Roman. Italiano Collem 3 69 (1) cons.

Markwart, Jos. (1917) *Ueber das Armenische Alphabet*, Wien.

Marquart, Jos. (1928) *Skizzen zur historischen Topographie und Geschichte von Kaukasien*, Wien.

Մաշտոց (1988) Անթիլիաս.

Mattei, Loreto, Pronunzia. VL: Racc. It. V 421

Mauro, M. A., Studi sopra suoni rappresentati. VL: Ferraioli V 7385.

Mayerson, Philip, (1993) `A Confusion of Indias: Asian India and African India in the Byzantine Sources', *JAOS* Volume 113 Number 1 Jan-March 1993, pp. 169-174.

p. 169 Ammianus Marcellinus 330-395 and Procopius of Caesarea (500-565) called the South Asian territories India, but Procopius refers to the Nile flowing out of India (Axum) to Egypt in Bldgs. 6.1.6.--so we have one reference to an Ethiopian India.

p.170 India Maior--India (land of silks including China) and India Minor--Ethiopia (Axum and South Arabia) are more commonly found in 4th century texts:

p. 171 Rufunus (345-410) has Matthew proselytize Ethiopia and Bartholomew citerior India (nearby India). There was also ulterior India. Socrates (380-450) follows Rufinus. Gelasius Cyzicus (fl. 475) confuses Indias, but has Matthew preach to the Parthians and Thomas to Greater (Asian) India. Athanasius (295-373), the Bishop of Alexandria, says that Frumentius went to Axum, further India, and became Bishop.

p. 172 Nearer India (Rufinus) is Arabia Felix. The Arian Philostorgius (368-430/40) tells of Constantius sending Theophilus to Arabia Magnus: Indians are called Sabaeans.

p. 173 John of Malalas (491-578) has the battle between the Axumites and Homorites (Himyarites) happen in India, Saracen India.

p. 173 The problem also exists in Aramaic, Hebrew and Syriac: Rabbi Yehudah Hinduah (cited in the Babylonian Talmud, Kiddushim 22b) comes from Ethiopia.

Մայր Ցուցակ Հայերէն Ձեռագրաց (1984) երևան.

Mazzachelli, Giammaria (1753) *Gli scrittori d'Italia I ii Brescia* CI**C**I**C**CCLIII pp. 608-611 Vatican Library (VL): Folio 14 1-7 cons.
Short life of AT. (see xerox)

McKeon, R. ed. (1957) *Selections from the Medieval Philosophers*, Vol. I, Scribners.

Meillet, A. (1913) *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg.

Mercati, Giovanni, (1897-1906) Ambrogio Teseo primo traduttore e raccoglitore di liturgie orientali, Studi e Testi 77 MCMXXXVII Opera Minori Vol. II.

Description of the first European printing of a Syriac Liturgy in Ambrogio Teseo.

Mercier, Charles, (1978) 'L'école hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne,' *REA* XIII, pp. 59-75.

Metcalf (1974) `The Indo-European Hypothesis in the 16th and 17th Centuries.' pp. 233- 257, in D. H. Hymes ed.*Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms*, Indiana University Press.

Metcalf, George, (1980) 'Theodor Bibliander (1504-1564) and the Languages of Japheth's Progeny,' in *Historiographia Linguistica* VII:3, pp. 323-333.

Metzger, Bruce, (1977)*The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford.

Migliorini, B. (1987) *Storia della Lingua Italiana*, Firenze.

Migliorini, Bruno, (1984.) *The Italian Languge,* VENLR: ATB 1004/ SS.80(08)G83/5.

Milani, F. & Angelo Stella (1985) *Parlà 'd Varlaeca: lingua e dialetto a Pavia dal '300 al '900*, Logos International.

This work samples and comments on the actual phonology of the language spoken in the locale of Pavia from 1300-1900. It clarifies the manner in which Ambrogio himself may have pronounced all of his languages, especially Latin and Italian.

Minassian, M. (1986) *Synopse des évangiles en Arménien classique*, Geneva.

Мирзоян, Г. К. (1988) «Клемент Галанос и армянская логическая мысль» *Вопросы Философии*, Ереван, 122-131.

Missale Romanum (1962) Rome.

Mondésert, C. (1984) *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible,* Paris.

Moscati, S. ed. (1969) *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*, Wiesbaden.

Mouraviev, S. (1980) 'Les caractères Daniéliens,' *REArm* XIV pp. 55-111.

Movsessian, P. L. (1959) *Armenische Grammatik: West-, Ost-, und Altarmenisch*, Wien.

Mozeson, I. E. (1989) *The Word: the Dictionary that Reveals the Hebrew Sources of English*, New Jersey.

The author clearly argues that Hebrew, God's language, underlies all others. Occasionally, he hits upon a clearly evident case without understanding the implications: e.g. Horus is the Greek form of an Egyptian word, but it has clear connections with Hebrew because both Hebrew and Coptic/Egyptian are members of the Afro-Asiatic Family of languages (this he does not understand) p.92.

Müller, Max, (1907) *Widmanstetter, 1506-1557, Sein Leben und Werken*..., Bamberg, Handel-Druckerei. VL: Racc. Gen. Vitae IV 1660. (see xerox)

Mutafian, Claude, editor (1999) *Roma-Armenia*, Edizioni de Luca. The catalogue of the Vatican Exposition of Armenian Art.

Nersessian, Vrej (1980) *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books 1512-1850*, The British Library.

Nersessian, Vrej (1991) 'Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* and its Significance for the History of Armenian Printing,' *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 5 (1990-1991) pp. 91-102.

Nestle, E., (1904) 'Aus einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Werk von 1539,' *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LVIII. VL: Racc. Gen. Misc. III. 666 (4) (5-7). (see xerox)

Nestle, E., (1899) 'Ein nach Diktat arbeitender Drucker des 16 Jahrhunderts,' *Centralblatt fuer Bibliothekwesen,* XIV.

Nestle, E., (1901) 'Ein Runisch Alphabet des 16 Jahrhunderts,' *Zeitschrift fuer Deutsche Philologie* XXXII, 140 f.

Nichanian, Marc, (1989) *Ages et usages de la langue arménienne*, Paris.

Nikulin, Dmitri (1998) ‘Michael Bakhtin: A Theory of Dialogue,’ *Constellations*, V, #3, September, pp. 381-402.

Նոր Բառագիրք Հայկազեան Լեզուի, (1979), երևան

Նոր Կտակարան (1991) էջմիածին.

Nouvelle biographie générale, II p. 326 Same entry as above. VL: Biografia III 4 cons.

Novum Testamentum Latine (1868) Berlin.

Nuovo, Angela (1987) 'l Corano arabo ritrovato,' *La Bibliofilia*, pp. 237-271.

Ó Mathúna, S. P. (1986) *William Bathe S.J.,1564-1614: A Pioneer in Linguistics*, Benjamins.

Oesterley, W. O. E. (1946) *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, London.

Ong, Walter (1982) *Orality and Literacy*, London.

Ong is one of the first scholars to emphasize the changes wrought by the physical nature of the book in different times and conditions. Moreover, he recognizes that the book among the few was heavily influenced by the oral consciousness of the many: something that 19th century universal education has sharply changed. (Ong a.)

Ong, Walter (1967) *The Presence of the Word*, Yale.

This work contains Ong's famous distinction between Mother (oral) and Father (literate) tongues: for centuries these were usually different languages. They were learned in different circumstances and by different means for clearly different purposes. (Ong b.)

Ong, Walter (1977) *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture*, Cornell.

Here the author explores the slow realization of the many differences between the manuscript and the printed book. Early printed works were often changed with each imprint as if they were manuscripts. The many advantages of similitude were not appreciated for almost half a century after the printing press appeared in every city of Europe. When every copy is the same, then an index, table of contents, concordance, etc. becomes not only possible, but also useful. The book becomes the first instance of the understanding of the importance of standardization for industry and bureaucracy, public and private. (Ong c.)

Ոսկանյան, Ն., Ք. Կորկոտյան, Ա. Սավալյան (1988) *Հայ Գիրքը 1512-1800 Թվականներին*, Երևան.

Osservazioni Litterarie (Verona) Tome II p. 14. VL: Racc. Gen. Periodici V 14.

Oudenrijn, Marcus Antonius (1960)*Linguae Haicanae Scriptores*, Bern.

The most complete examination of Catholic Armenian literary and liturgical manuscripts. It also contains a detailed history of the various centers and leaders of the Catholic Armenian community through the centuries.

Oudenrijn, M. A. (1956-1962) 'Uniteurs et Dominicains d'Arménie,' *OrChr*, 40 pp. 94-112; 42 pp. 110-133; 43 pp. 11-119; 45 pp. 95-109; 46 pp. 99-116.

Ottley, R. R. (1914) *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge.

Owens, J. (1988) *The Foundations of Grammar: An Introduction to Medieval Arabic Grammatical Theory*, Benjamins.

Owens, J. (1990) *Early Arabic Grammatical Theory: Heterogeneity and Standardization*, Benjamins.

Palandjian, H. (1993) *Wortformenindex der Psalmen im Armenischen*, Munich.

Palandjian, H. (1997) *Word-Index to the New Testament Acts and Letters*, Quebec.

Palmer, R. (1969) *Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer*, Northwestern Univrsity Press.

Pankhurst, R. (1977) 'The Armenians and Ethiopia,' *Revue des Études arméniennes,* Vol. 12, pp. 273-345.

Parnassian, N. A. (1983) 'The Development of the Grammatical Structure of Modern Armenian,' *The Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, pp. 35-45.

Պատմութիւն հայ հին դպրութեան, (1932) Վենետիկ.

Պատմութիւն հայկական տպագրութեան (1513-1895), **(1895)**, **Վենետիկ** pp 34–36. (Veniœ 1895 I).

Peeters, P. P. (1929) 'Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet Arménien,' *REArm*, IX, 1, pp. 203-237.

Penna, A., (1946) Ambrogio Teseo: introduttore del siriasmo in Occidente,' Ordo canonicus Commentarium Ordinis can. reg. S. Augustini I pp. 142-157. VL: Racc. Gen. Dir. Cas. IV 1834. (see xerox)

Penna, A., (1946) `Ambrogio Teseo: introduttore del siriasmo in Occidente,' *Ordo canonicus Commentarium Ordinis can. reg. S. Augustini* , I pp. 142-157.

Pennoti, Gabriele, (1628)*Generalis Totius Sacri Ordinis Clericorum Canonic. Historia Tripartita:* Libro III `de Congr. Canonic. Saluatoris Lateraneii locupletissime disseritur', Rome, (ed. 1724).

Full citation (1628) Generalis Totius Sacri Ordinis Clericorum Canonic. Historia Tripartita Libro III de Congr. Canonic. Saluatoris Lateraneii locupletissime disseritur, Romae Ex Typographia CameraeApostolicae MDCXXIIII (ed. 1724 is listing but seems to read 1624? Original is 1628.) VL: Ord. Rel. Folio IV Gen I cons.

p. 789 Caput quinquagesimumcuintum: Ambrogio, vel Theseus Ambrogio, ex Comitibus Albonesii, viris utriusque Doctor, Theologus, & omnium linguarum notitia peritissimus, cuius similes paucos Orbis vidit. qui iussus Leonis Decimi in Bononiensi Gymnasio linguarum Syriacae, & Chaldaicae scholam primus aperuit, cuius meminit Genebradus in Chronologia sub anno 1515.

Edidit Introductionem in Lingua Chaldaicam, Syriacam & Armenicam, ac decem alias linguas, & characterum differentium Alphabeta circiter quadraginta. lib. I

Alia complura opera, statim edenda in promptu habeat, quae in immani clade Papiae sub Francisco Rege Gallorum perierunt. Obijt citca annum 1540. nam liber illo viuente fuit editus Papiae anno 1539.

Периханян, А. (1966) «К вопросу о происхождений армянской письменности» *Переднеазиатский сборник* 4, 103-133.

This article makes the important point that almost all of the Armenian affricative sounds are represented by letters descended from the Aramaic Tsade, which letter's shape was taken from the Pahlavi alphabet. This confirms the importance of Ambrogio's concern with the Tsade and its descendants.

Pierce, C. S. (1905) ‘What Pragmatism Is,’ *The Monist*, XV, pp. 161-181.

Պիլոն Հեբրայեցի (1892) *Ճառք*, Վենետիկ.

Pingree, David (1989) 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* #43, pp. 226-239.

Pinker, Steven (1994) *The Language Instinct*, HarperCollins, New York.

Pinker, Steven (1997) *How the Mind Works*, Norton, New York.

Pinker, Steven (1999) *Words and Rules*, Basic Books, New York.

Polarci, E. (1909) *I verbi Italiani teorica e prontuario*, Milan.

Պողոսյան, Հ. Ղ. (1990) 'Կենսաբանական Տեսակետը Գրաբարի Ծագման Հարցում,' *Հայաստանի Կենսաբանական Հանդես*, 43, 4, 321-345.

The author sees Grabar and its phonology as a reflection and expression of underlying natural laws within organic and inorganic systems.

Postel, G., (1538) *Linguarum duodecim* etc. VL: Mai XI M IV 67 int. 2

Postel, G., (1540) *Syriae descriptio*, LC: NP 0516143 (DLC MnU MH NjP

Postel, G., (1635). *De republica seu magistratibus Atheniensium*, Lugduni Batavorum, CI**C** (for backward C used in text)**(=M)** I**C (=D)** CXXXV

An argument for a return to Attic gov; the second copy of the same with a discoursis at the end on sources for Attic law. HNL: Ant. 1654; Ant. 1648.

Postel, G., (1656) *De cosmographia disciplina*, Lugduni Batavorum CI**C**I**C**CXXXVI

Explanation of the Noah: Ham, Shem, Japheth division of mankind, languages, and geography. Bound with De signorum coelestium. HNL: Geo. 550.

pp. 71-72 Syrio & Armenis, qui Arymi & Eremi & Erembi, sic sensum Syria Aramine nomine corrupto dicti sunt, dicitur Armanly, sive Armania nuncupatur: & Cythi, Cyprii...& Dodan, sive affinitate characterum in d Daleth, & r Ress, Rodanii, sunt in vicina sui patris habitatione onstitiusi populi.

p. 74 Si Arapachitis regio Armeniae & Assyriae vicina, est ab Arpaxado nuncupata: & si Helamitae sive Elamitae, clarissimi in Perside populi:

p. 155 An Armenian bishop in Japan (he is from Antioch).

Postel, Guillaume (1510-1581) *de foenicum literis,* seu De prisco Latinae & Graecae lingua charactere, eiusque, antiquissima origine & usu, Paris 1552. VL: Barberini Y 1 52.

Postel, Guillaume, (1552) *de foenicum literis, seu De prisco Latinae & Graecae lingua charactere, eiusque, antiquissima origine & usu*, Paris.

Argument that the Phoenix of all alphabets were used in Gaul:

11. Galli quorum facundia docuit Britannos (& nunquam contra quicquid malevolus in Galliam genius scribi curaverit) ideo merito nomen Aboriginum cum Umbrus eorum Alumnus habuisse leguntur in Amiano Marcellinus & Timagene. Unde quum ab Armenia per Syriam sanctam duce Iano venerit in Italiam gens Gallorum, teste Carone, & inde ex

Gallia in totam Europam sparserit, suae primogenitura imperium, dubium non est, quicquid de Troianis circumferatur, quin hoc vocabuli ettam Britannis dederint.

The point made is that all languages and writing must come from one source and that that source must be Hebrew and that Hebrew had been written in an ancient alphabet whose only remnant is the alphabet of the Samaritans (introduced into Europe through AT.

See the two tables at the end of the book xeroxed.

Postel, Guillaume, (1538a) *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium Alphabetum*, Paris.

Postel, Guillaume, (1538b)*De originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae & gentis antiquitate, deque variarum linguarum affinitate*. Paris.

Postel, Guillaume (1510-1581) 3 vols. *De la republique des Turcs,* 1560/1565.

Library of Congress (LC): NP 0516087 (DLC IU AU NN); Vittoria Emmanuale National Library, Rome (VENLR): JJK 40 card#67187 (iik or jjk or 11k or 77k for this is a Nineteenth Century card in script?). Ricardo Contini thinks that it must be jj.

Postel, G., *Sylloge altera scriptorum, qui linguae graecae*.. VENLR: 1.6.C.18 catalogue #67178P; VL: Mai XI.M.IV67 int. 2.

Two collections of works are bound together:

Sylloge Scriptorum qui de Linguae Graecae, Vera & Recta Pronuntiatione Commentarios reliquerunt, Videlicet: Adolphi Mekerchi, Theodori Bezae, Jacobi Ceratini & Henri Stephani

Quibus accedunt Sigeberti Havercampi Dissertatio de Literarum Graecae--Lugduni Batavorum 1736.

Sylloge Altera Scriptorum qui de Lingua Graecae: Vera & Recta

Pronuntiatione Commentarios reliquerunt, Videlicet: Desiderii Erasmus, Stephani

Vintoniensis, Johannes Checi, Thomae Smith, Gregorii Martini et Erasmi Schmidt; addendum Guillielmi Postelli de Phoenicum Literis. editor Sigebertus Havercampus-- L.B. 1740.

This copy of Postel lacks the chart found in the individual book.

Potken, Johannes (1511) *Psalterium David et Cantica aliqua*, Rome.

The first Oriental language book published in Rome; also, the first book published in the Ethiopic syllabary.

Prabolta, Ciro, (1898) *Storia della Grammatica Italiana*, Milan, reprinted 1963.

Pullum, G. K. & W. A. Ladusaw (1986) *Phonetic Symbol Guide*, Chicago.

Rabin, Chaim ed. (1961) *Scripta Hierosolymitana: Volume VIII Studies in the Bible*, Jerusalem.

Rahlfs, Alfred ed. (1979) *Septuagint*, Stuttgart.

Ramat, Paolo et al. ed. (1986) *The History of Linguistics in Italy*, Benjamins.

Richard, Jean (1977) *La papaute et les missions d'orient au moyen age* (XIII-XV siecles) Rome. (Richard).

Ricoeur, Paul (1976) *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*, Texas Christian University Press.

Rivola, F., (1624) *Grammaticae armenae libri quattor,* Milan Ambrosiana. VL: Racc. Gen. Oriente IV 589.

Rivola, Francesco, (1621) *Dictionarium armeno-latinum*, Milan Ambrosiana. VL: Racc. Gen. Oriente III 162.

Rivola, Francesco, (1633) *Dictionarium armeno-latinum*, Paris. (Matenadaran)

Robins, R. H. (1961) *A Short History of Linguistics*, Longmans, London.

Robinson, T. (1915) *Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar*, Oxford.

Robinson, Orrin, (1992) *Old English and its Closest Relatives,* Stanford University Press.

Rogerson, J. W. and J. W. McKay (1977) *The Cambridge Bible Commentary: Psalms 1-50*, Cambridge University.

Rolfs, *Grammatica Historica della Lingua Italiana e degli Dialetti,* vol 1 Fonetica.

Rorty, R. (1982) *Consequences of Pragmatisim*, University of Minnesota Press.

Rosenthal, E. I. J. (1969) 'The Study of the Bible in Medieval Judaism,' *The Cambridge History of the Bible,* Vol. 2, pp.252-279.

Rowley, H. H. ed. (1952) *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, Oxford.

Ruderman, David, (1988) *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science,* Harvard University Press.

Russell, J. R. (1994) 'On the Origins and Invention of the Armenian Script,' *Muséon*, Tome 107 Fasc. 3-4 pp. 317-333.

Sabatini, Francescon, L'ortografia razionale. VL: Chigi Opuscoli LXVI 1. (see xerox)

Salvioni, Carlo, Sul dialetti milanese. VL: Ling. Roman. IV 1 (30).

Սաղմոս ի Դաւիթ...ի թվական հայոց Ռժե...ի մայրաքաղաքն ի Վանատիկ, ի հայոց Հոգետուննն...:

This is the first Biblical text printed in the West. It was the work of Abgar dpir T'oxatec'i in Venice in 1566. The Matenadaran's copy is very badly damaged and can be used only through a very poor microfilm negative of the highly damaged original.

Sampson, Geoffery, (1985) *Writing Systems,* Stanford University Press.

Sansovino, Francesco, (1568). *Ortografia della voci della lingua nostra o Vero Dittionario Volgare et Latino*, Venice VL: Barberini Y IX 76.

Schelhorn, Johann George, *De Eximiis Svevorum in Orientalem Literaturam meritis, Amoenitates Literariae*, Tome XIII pp. 486-500; Tome XVI p. 232. VL: Racc. Gen. Teologi V 6548 (1-4).

Schiltberger, J. (1427) *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, London.

Schimmel, Annamarie (1993) *The Mystery of Numbers*, Oxford.

Schroeder, Joachim, (1711) *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae: Antiquae et hodiernae,* Amstelodami.

Շրըմպ (1895) *Ուսումնասիրութիւն հայ լեզուի և Մատենագրութեան* ԺԶ—ԺԷ դ., **Վենետիկ.** pp 40—42. (Venice 1895 II)

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